

news from behind the IRON CURTAIN

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SPECIAL FEATURE

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About this Publication . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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Area Trends

THE horrors of Belsen, Buchenwald and Dachau had not yet been forgotten when Communist anti-Semitism sprang up full-grown in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany and the heart of the Soviet Empire. It was the major salvo in a Kremlin propaganda barrage aimed at exposing and demolishing Western "terrorist plots" against Stalinist regimes. The most battered targets were Zionism and "Jewish bourgeois nationalists" alleged to be in the pay of US imperialist overlords. The phraseology was Marxian, but the accusations had the diabolical ring of Hitler's *Völkischer Beobachter*.

Undoubtedly, the anti-Semitic campaign was a bid for neo-Nazi favor in Germany and Arab support in the Middle East. Also, internally, the Communist regimes were finding it increasingly necessary to find butts for political and economic failures and the Jews were obvious scapegoats. True, too, Communist anti-Semitism has been developing for years and the Kremlin considers the Jews, with their tradition of individualism and Western ties, "unreliable" elements. Moreover, this was one more symptom of Communist paranoia and the totalitarian urge for homogeneity. Many observers compared the atmosphere to that of the 1936-1938 purges when the USSR consolidated its internal position in preparation for war by a ruthless purge among professionals and intellectuals.

All diatribes were characterized by claims that the "Western imperialists conduct hostile activities against Communist regimes as part of their war plans." This was implicit in the Kremlin announcement that the police had unmasked a "gang" of doctors plotting to cut short the lives of Soviet leaders by improper diagnosis and treatment. Six of the nine physicians were Jews and accused of cooperating with "international Jewry" and the US in a conspiracy to undermine Communist governments. Similar accusations dominated other broadsides against the Catholic Church, political emigres, and British and American intelligence services. Where the Communists will draw a line in the campaign to redirect hatred for Communism to old hatreds like anti-Semitism or new ones like anti-Catholicism or anti-Westernism, remains to be seen, but the present series of denunciations, arrests and trials has not by any means reached its climax.



POLAND

Catholic Arrests: The anti-Church drive was heightened by new clerical arrests and a trial of four priests and three laymen in Cracow on charges of conducting espionage for the US. The defendants were accused of concealing arms, dollars, gold and art treasures in Church buildings. One priest and two laymen were sentenced to death, and the others to prison. The arrest of Archbishop Baziaik of Cracow brought the number of Polish Bishops now in prison up to five; recent press denunciations of three other Bishops may present an increase in this total and a new attempt to destroy the Polish Catholic Church.

Anti-Semitism: The anti-Zionist campaign launched in the Slansky trial was implemented in Poland by attacks against

the Israeli Legation in Warsaw. The Communists sent a protest note to the Israeli Government charging Legation officials with eliciting information from prospective Jewish emigrants for the purpose of espionage. Condemnation of "Jewish bourgeois nationalists" in connection with the note of protest and with the arrest of the nine doctors in Moscow, was part of an intensified anti-West drive.

Anti-Communist Espionage: Denunciations of political emigres in the West followed an announcement that three sources of anti-Communist espionage had been uncovered by the Security Police. The Government claimed that two diversionists with equipment bearing US trademarks had been dropped on Poland from an American plane coming

from West Germany and that an underground group financed by Western intelligence services had surrendered. The Communists also asserted that anti-regime plots, organized internally by agents of the London Political Council of Emigres, had been disclosed. Security Minister Radkiewicz was given a decoration for his efficiency, and a sharp protest note was sent to the US Government.

Standard of Living: A decree aimed at increasing productivity cancelled rationing of meats, fats and sugar, and raised the prices of all goods in State stores. Wages were also raised, but not proportionately, so that labor will have to work harder to maintain its present standard of living. State deliveries from peasants will be rigidly enforced and food bought cheaply will be resold at high prices. At the same time, peasants will have fewer opportunities to sell surplus produce on the free market.

BULGARIA

Terrorists: A trial of ten men as agents of US Intelligence operating in Turkey was a sounding board for vilification of US foreign policy, particularly in Korea and the Balkans. According to the indictment, the group plotted to overthrow the Communist Government by terrorist means. One defendant was sentenced to death, and the others received varying terms of imprisonment.

Production Failures: Official secrecy about production targets and results indicates economic failures, despite government claims that the first Five Year Plan was completed a year ahead of schedule. Shortcomings were also suggested by the fact that no data on Plan fulfillment has been published so far and that goals of the second Five Year Plan, which went into effect January 1, have not been made public. The same aura of mystery surrounds the State Budget for 1953.

Election Defeat: The announcement that new elections to the People's Council will have to be held in 27 precincts was accompanied by the admission that the registered candidates did not receive enough votes. This signifies that the Party suffered an unexpected defeat in these districts, where despite pressure, people showed their opposition to the regime. Contrary to electoral regulations, no elections were held in 41 precincts, probably because the Party anticipated difficulties in these areas.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Predicament: In two major addresses in three weeks, Prime Minister Antonin Zapotocky openly admitted the nation's economic plight. The Minister harped on the absolute necessity of delivering exports to the Soviet Union and the Satellites, and rebuked failures in agriculture and key industries. Zapotocky even bewailed the lack of labor discipline since the abolition of private enterprise, and called upon trade unions to remedy this situation. Zapotocky also confirmed reports about large-scale deportations of "expendable" citizens from industrial towns and asked national committees

to be less drastic in carrying out evictions. Further underscoring regime problems was the Prime Minister's announcement that new restrictive measures affecting food rations will be taken.

Party Conference: The regime unabashedly announced that the reason for the reorganization of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at the recent state-wide Party Conference was the need to make Czech Communist methods and aims identical with those of the Soviets. Top Communists also thoroughly discussed the "liquidation of the anti-State center headed by Slansky" in an effort to allay popular skepticism about the trial and widespread distrust of Party leadership.

ROMANIA

No Progress: Although no outstanding event has occurred in recent weeks, the general trend of activity indicates that the Gheorghiu-Dej regime is having difficulty finding solutions to its many problems, and that the prevailing mood throughout the nation is weariness. As yet, no indictment has followed the removal of the Pauker-Luca-Georgescu clique, probably because the shortage of trustworthy and capable Communists makes it impossible to carry out a thoroughgoing purge of Party ranks.

HUNGARY

Nationalized Economy: As announced at a recent session of Parliament, the Communist Government plans to expand nationalized industry and agriculture. The 1953 budget will be increased by 16 percent over that of 1952, and 87 percent of the national income will be derived from the "Socialist sector" of the economy. 146,000 new workers will be recruited to boost productivity. It was also announced that 37.3 percent of all arable land has already been collectivized and that the goal is set at 50 percent by the end of 1954. According to a statement by Prime Minister Rakosi, Hungary will stop paying reparations to the Soviet Union on January 20. No doubt this was merely a verbal concession and the USSR will find other means of profiting from Hungarian industry.

Anti-West: At the same session of Parliament, Prime Minister Rakosi attacked the West for interfering in Hungarian internal affairs and supporting "reactionary" emigres. Rakosi also followed the line set down at the 19th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party by expounding the thesis that schisms in the "capitalist camp" are increasing and that a Western economic crisis is imminent.

"Joint": The arrest of Lajos Stoeckler, president of the Hungarian Jewish community, as an agent of the American Joint Distribution Committee, was the salient feature of the anti-Zionist campaign. Party spokesmen declared that the former activities of "Joint" would be thoroughly investigated in coming weeks. Other denunciations of "Jewish bourgeois nationalists and traitors" appeared in connection with the arrest of the nine Moscow doctors.

The Full Circle

I. ACCENT ON ANTI-SEMITISM

It is now clear that the Prague trial of Rudolph Slansky last November marked the beginning of an upsurge of Communist anti-Semitism camouflaged by an assault on so-called Jewish espionage agencies. The second major incident in this drive occurred on January 13, when Moscow announced the arrest of nine Soviet doctors for "plotting the murder of Communist leaders in a conspiracy with international Jews and foreign powers." The accused were labelled "terrorist Jewish doctors" connected with the "Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organization, 'Joint,'" which was alleged to be an instrument of American Intelligence. Swiftly following this, was the arrest of the president of the Hungarian Jewish community, Lajos Stoeckler, as an agent of the American Joint Distribution Committee. Denunciations of Zionism throughout the Satellite press placed this campaign on an area-wide basis.

The complex pattern of Kremlin politics and the insufficient information available make it difficult to come to definite conclusions about Communist goals. From the construction of the Slansky case, it appeared that the Jews were being used as scapegoats for economic failures and as foils to divert the people's anti-Soviet and anti-Communist sentiments. From the attacks against Zionism, it also seemed that the Kremlin was trying to win Arab and neo-Nazi sympathies by claiming that Israel and the West were conspiring against the world. The arrest of the nine Russian doctors partly confirmed these suspicions. Furthermore, attacks against the MVD for lack of vigilance led Western observers to conclude that the affair might also have been construed to undermine Lavrenti Beria's position and to assure Malenkov easy and orderly accession to the Stalin throne. Since this was the first time in fifteen years that the Kremlin had announced the existence of a plot directed against high-ranking leaders such as Marshals Alexander Vasilevsky, Leonid Govorov and Ivan Konev, many people considered it a sign of an internal crisis and the prelude to a new Soviet purge.

Despite the mystery surrounding both cases, it is evident that the Kremlin has grave doubts about Jewish loyalty to Soviet Communism and is determined to cut

off remaining Jewish ties with the West. Recent attacks against "Jewish cosmopolitanism" have clearly revealed Kremlin distrust, and the removal of a number of Jews from leading Communist posts, as well as the suppression of various Jewish organizations, have been two of the methods used to curtail Jewish influence. In carrying out this program, the Communists have not ignored the advantages of using Jews as scapegoats for internal failures or as tools in foreign policy: they have not only played on anti-Semitic feelings, but have used them to intensify the hate campaign against the West.

"Joint" in Hungary

The recent arrest of Lajos Stoeckler, president of the Hungarian Jewish community, is the latest incident in Communist anti-Jewish action. In a January 17 communique making this event public, the regime declared that "substantial amounts of American dollars and Swiss francs had been found in the home of industrialist Stoeckler," who was charged with administering funds for the American Joint Distribution Committee which has been banned since 1951. A day previous to this announcement, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), published a sharp attack against "Joint" in an editorial on the arrest of the nine Russian doctors in Moscow. The newspaper stated that "Joint's" activities had been more extensive in Hungary than in the Soviet Union, and that vigilance is imperative if Hungarian Communists are to succeed in suppressing enemies.

"The enemy, caught red-handed, now rants about anti-Semitism in connection with the fact that 'Joint' has been unmasked as an espionage agency of American imperialism . . . [Despite this hullabaloo,] the American imperialists cannot [camouflage] their policy of racial oppression and anti-Semitism. [One of its] most shocking manifestations . . . is the anti-Semitic campaign launched in connection with the Rosenberg case. . . .

"It is clear that in our country, where remnants of hostile classes still exist . . . and where vestiges of bourgeois influence and ideology are far stronger than in the Soviet Union, the danger . . . of enemy intrigues is infinitely greater. For instance, 'Joint' conducted far more extensive operations in Hungary than in the Soviet Union and was expelled only a few years ago. But this

expulsion does not mean . . . that we have eliminated all traces of [the organization's] activities. The role played by 'Joint' in instructing the murderous gang [of doctors] is a special warning that we must deal harshly with all signs of bourgeois nationalism and Zionism. . . . Our Party and our people are far less experienced [than the Soviets] . . . in fighting the enemy. For this reason, lack of vigilance and the presence of gullibility are more dangerous. We may say that we have understood . . . the conclusions to be drawn from the unmasking of the murderous doctors only if we wage a relentless fight against all forms of gullibility."

Hungary, with about 150,000 Jews remaining after the war, was the only Satellite country in which the Joint Distribution Committee was permitted to function as late as 1951. It is reported that when the Communists first took power, they put few obstacles in the way of Jewish emigration to Israel, and that about 25,000 Jews succeeded in leaving the country. The Communists also adopted a tolerant attitude toward "Joint," which operated in various Jewish hospitals, orphanages and institutions. In fact, the regime welcomed the substantial amount of money received by "Joint" because it offset Hungarian dollar shortages. However, by 1947, the anti-Zionist trend had begun and leaders of Zionist organizations were arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. In December 1949, the head of "Joint," Israel Jacobson, was arrested and deported as an "American imperialist agent." The organization itself was not banned until May 1951. In line with this, the Communists made emigration to Israel increasingly difficult, despite the fact that American Jewish organizations paid heavily for each person permitted to leave. Of the 3,000 Jews who were supposed to leave Hungary in 1950, there are still 500 awaiting permission. But regardless of growing restrictions and pressures, it is reported that 72,000 of the 125,000 Jews now in Hungary have applied for emigration visas.

Lajos Stoeckler

The actual events leading to Stoeckler's arrest have not been made public. However, exiles who knew him have thrown some light on his role in Communist politics. One emigre journalist reports that in 1944, when the Hungarian National Socialists seized power, Stoeckler was made head of the so-called Jewish Council, although he had taken no part in Jewish religious life previous to this time: "The Council had the task of carrying out Nazi orders, and many people thought that Stoeckler, the owner of a small industrial plant, was overzealous in performing his duties in order to save himself and his family. After 1945, Stoeckler joined the Communists. In July 1951, when the first wave of Hungarian deportations began, Stoeckler published a statement calling Western news reports on Jewish deportations a lie, despite the fact that many middle-class Jews were affected by this action."

Why Stoeckler was finally removed is not known, but it is possible that his arrest is the beginning of an anti-Semitic purge which ties in with overall Kremlin policy. According to an exiled researcher, Hungarian Communists

distrust the Jews and are aware of the fact that many of those who at first supported the regime have been alienated:

"Opposition to the closing down of Jewish cultural and charity organizations has already resulted in the imprisonment of a great many Jews. It is difficult to say who will be affected by a new purge, but victims may very well include intellectuals and Party leaders. Economic chief, Erno Gero, has been mentioned in this connection, and the fact that he participated in the Spanish Civil War may be held against him. Almost all Hungarian Communists who did participate have since been liquidated. Another victim might be Chairman of the Planning Bureau, Zoltan Vas, whose relatives were sent to Israel on a diplomatic mission and instead applied for political asylum."

Diagnoses on Doctors

The Satellite press and radio have issued a number of attacks supporting recent anti-Semitic action in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Soviet Union. For example, typical commentaries on the arrest of the Moscow doctors were:

Agerpress, January 15: The most important lesson Romanian workers are to learn from the unmasking of these doctor-murderers . . . is the need to increase revolutionary vigilance and steadily consolidate the country's defense power. . . .

Radio Prague, January 14: The facts revealed about the criminal plot show that the imperialists are monsters marked by Cain's dollar sign. . . . The fact that the imperialists resorted to terrorist methods is evidence of their weakness. Their hopes that by murder they would clear a path to power were in vain. They only . . . aroused [world] indignation. . . . The liquidation of a Zionist agency in the Soviet Union has dealt the imperialists another crushing blow. . . .

Radio Warsaw, January 14: Do not cure, but kill! Such was the order given to the terrorist group of doctors recruited by Anglo-American Intelligence. They received detailed instructions: Shorten the lives of active Soviet leaders by harmful treatments. . . . The intermediary between Washington and London Intelligence Centers . . . and the doctor criminals was "Joint", an international Jewish nationalist bourgeois organization, which under the camouflage of philanthropy, was one of the many arms of imperialist espionage. . . .

The hate campaign against the West has also been supplemented by other attacks. In Poland, the drive was intensified by a trial of priests, the "exposure of spies in the pay of the US," and assaults upon the Israeli Legation in Warsaw. In Bulgaria, ten men were sentenced as US spies and terrorists. And in Czechoslovakia, the regime still harped on the Slansky trial and issued several pronouncements to allay popular skepticism.

Unexpected Reaction

Public reaction to the Slansky trial disappointed regime expectations, and instead of hailing it as a great victory, Czechoslovak leaders were forced into strained explanations

to clear up popular doubts and suspicions. Many of these explanatory statements were made at the recent state-wide Party Conference in Prague. Although President Klement Gottwald declared that the nation had followed the trial "with passionate contempt for the treacherous criminals," he also found it necessary to assure Communists that the Government was not conducting an anti-Semitic campaign. As quoted by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 17, Gottwald said:

"It is Zionism . . . Zionist organizations and their American bosses . . . which has shamefully capitalized on the sufferings of the Jews under Hitler and the Fascists. We can frankly state that [Zionists] attempt to profit from the ashes of Oswiecim and Majdanek. Normally, it would be difficult for a former banker, manufacturer, estate-owner or kulak to join the Communist Party, and certainly, such a man could never reach a high position. But wherever people of Jewish origin or Zionist orientation were concerned, [we] paid no attention to their class origin. . . . Today, Zionism has become a dangerous and vicious enemy."

While Gottwald confined himself to the subject of Zionism, Minister of Education Zdenek Nejedly attempted to explain why the trial had not taken place earlier. Nejedly insisted that Communists were not suspicious bourgeoisie but optimists who believed in people: therefore, he said, Communists who asked why the culprits had not been detected sooner were guilty of petty bourgeois mentality. However, Nejedly also claimed that the Party had not trusted Slansky for some time, and that, because of this, neither Slansky nor Svermova were given ministerial posts in 1945. Nejedly further pointed out that there was no reason to lose confidence in the Party because a top Communist had been found guilty of sabotage. Gottwald and not Slansky, he said, was the Party leader, and had exposed this treason as early as 1951:

"Those who wanted to damage confidence in the Party blew up [during the trial] as if the function of Secretary General of the Party, which was entrusted to Slansky, was the highest office. It is the highest post in the Soviet Union, but not here. Here, the Chairman ranks above the Secretary General. Our Chairman was and is Klement Gottwald, who showed great foresight before the conspirators were exposed by trying to keep out of matters in which he did not feel safe."

Other explanations were given by Minister of National Security Karel Bacilek, and Minister of State Control Jan Harus. Bacilek stressed that the "Western imperialists" were responsible for the rank and file membership's lack of faith in Party leadership: "Like thieves, [the imperialists] shout: 'Catch the thieves,' and try to create a smoke-screen of deceptions, frauds and lies. And . . . this is the source of all those rumors spread by dissatisfied and politically uncertain members." Echoing Nejedly, Bacilek emphasized that the Party had proved itself capable of rooting out traitors, but that it was impossible to eliminate all sabotage:



Caption: Soviet prosecutor to the Jew: "Admit that you are conspiring against progress. First you intended to destroy the great German Reich and now you are killing our Generals!" From *Slovenski Porocevalec* (Ljubljana), January 18, 1953.

"Frejka, Goldmann, and others working under Slansky, tried to conceal their sabotage of the Five-Year Plan [in 1950]. . . . [But] in the 1951 session of the Party's Central Committee, Gottwald and Dolansky exposed these attempts. . . . At that time, however, the purpose of this sabotage was not evident. . . . It is amazing that Comrades who can remember all the correct and incorrect figures admitted by Frejka, often forget about this important session of the Central Committee. One thing is certain: we could not then eliminate all sabotage activities, and even now we cannot be certain of others."

Minister of State Control Harus said that the conspirators themselves had created obstacles to their discovery, because Slansky's assistant Deputy Jarmila Taussigova-Potuckova pretended that Sling and Svermova had directed their activities against Slansky. Harus also blamed Communists for lack of vigilance and said that they ignored the fact that it was possible to "pretend to follow Party line while opposing the Party."

An article in the December 6 issue of *Literarni Noviny* further revealed the nation's skepticism by openly admitting that many people wondered why all the defendants had confessed:

"During the trial many people asked why all the defendants willingly admitted their guilt. . . . These intriguers . . . denied it as long as they could. Only when the evidence piled up against them and when no escape was possible, did they give in. [The shameless way in which they delivered their confessions revealed their true characters]. . . . Such people as Frejka, Slansky, Simone and Svab often boasted cynically of the extent of their crimes. Even here, during the last moments of their lives, they tried to impress, offend, and hurt. . . ."

Warsaw Israeli Legation Attacked

The Polish regime has recently attacked the Israeli Legation in Warsaw for alleged contacts with Zionist espionage organizations. This may indicate that trials of Jewish Communists in Poland will follow those held recently in Prague and East Germany. On December 19, following several press denunciations of Zionism, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a note to the Israeli Legation stating that the Polish Government would not tolerate espionage conducted by the Legation under the pretext of diplomacy. The note accused Legation members of working with "Zionist elements" and claimed that the Legation's support of Jewish emigration agitation was a shield for collecting information on Poland. This activity was supposedly carried out by Legation members Ari Lerner, Abram Futerer and Szyja Ausbel. As further evidence the note cited the fact that Israeli authorities question Polish emigrants about railroad networks, foreign trade, conditions in the Western Territories, administrative matters and defense preparations. In a December 21 commentary on this note, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), wrote:

"[Instead of abiding by international law] the Israel Legation usurped the right to act in behalf of Polish citizens of Jewish nationality. . . . Their unwelcome 'care' was shown . . . by propaganda for emigration to Israel. . . . But their activity is not limited to the above. The legation strives to become the center . . . for remnants of Zionist organizations representing the interests of the Jewish bourgeoisie, who have long since been liquidated in Poland."

After this note was sent to the Legation, Polish Jews throughout the country were forced to hold meetings pledging their support of the regime and their opposition to Zionism. According to emigre reports, the current campaign may affect the positions of two Jewish diplomats: Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, General Wiktor Grosz, and UN delegate Julius Katz-Suchy. Grosz is known to have maintained close contacts with Arthur London, who was sentenced in the recent Slansky trial. Katz-Suchy is now in a New York hospital recovering from injuries sustained in an automobile accident on the eve of his intended return to Warsaw. Some sources report that he has been depressed by recent events in Poland.

Parachutists

Within the past month, the Polish regime has also denounced three alleged sources of espionage in a large-scale campaign directed against British and American

Intelligence and political emigres. This drive is probably intended to discourage passive resistance at home and to sever connections with exiles abroad. It was launched on November 4 with the charge that two diversionists had been dropped on Poland by an American plane which took off from West Germany. Several days after this, the "spies'" equipment, which supposedly included a walky-talky, cameras, arms, instructions and codes, was displayed in an anti-American exhibit in Warsaw. The press also carried photographs of parachute helmets stamped with a US trademark, claiming that this was "irrefutable evidence of Washington's guilt." In a December 27 commentary on this incident, Radio Warsaw declared:

"This violation of Polish borders and parachuting of spies and diversionists onto Polish territory . . . clearly demonstrates the cynical methods and hostile activities of American imperialists. . . . This action against a nation with which the US maintains normal diplomatic relations constitutes a . . . violation of the recognized codes of international law, and is a striking example of the American ruling circles' aggressive anti-Polish designs."

Diversionists

One day later, on December 28, the regime press and radio announced the "surrender" of the underground organization, Freedom and Independence (WIN), which allegedly cooperated with American and British Intelligence under the leadership of two men called Kowalski and Sienko. The group was charged with receiving funds from American Intelligence and maintaining regular contacts with its own emissaries abroad, including Colonel Jozef Maciolek and Colonel Rolewicz who "represented General Anders":

"The above-mentioned emissaries acted in close cooperation with the London staffs of Anders, Pelczynski and Kopanski as well as with other reactionary emigre circles, especially with Mikolajczyk, Bialas and Popiel. . . . Since February 1949, they have been in contact with American Intelligence. In November 1950, they concluded an agreement by which WIN was to work for American Intelligence in exchange for a fixed subsidy. . . . One of the basic conditions of this agreement was . . . that WIN conduct spying, diversionist and sabotage activity on Polish territory. . . . The funds they received first from British Intelligence and then from American Intelligence . . . total over one million dollars. [However] they did not spend this despite the instructions they received. . . ."

Members of this group supposedly surrendered because they realized the "anti-national and criminal character" of their activities. The regime claimed that they confessed because they wanted to help stop spying and diversionist activity in Poland and to reveal this activity to the Polish nation and the rest of the world.

WIN was formed after the dissolution of the Polish Underground Army at the end of the German occupation.

Its creator, Colonel Rzepecki, formerly a member of the Underground Command, was tried and sentenced by the Communists in 1947, but was later pardoned on the basis of a general amnesty. In its communiques on the liquidation of this organization, the regime claimed that it was the fifth and last branch to be exposed. In view of Communist interrogation methods, the confessions of these people cannot be relied on, and nothing definite can be assumed about their activities and methods of organization.

On January 3, the Polish Communist Government launched another attack against emigres and claimed that two former members of the Home Department of the Polish Political Council (of exiles), whose headquarters are in London, had returned to Poland because they realized the "hostile character of American Intelligence and the degeneracy of emigres who act against Polish national interests." The newspaper *Zycie Warszawy* declared that the most prominent members of this Political Council were Franciszek Bialas, Edward Sojka and Zenczykowski-Zawadzki and that they had promised to supply the Americans with 100,000 Polish partisans for the price of one million dollars.

"Priest—Spies"

On January 21, the Polish Government brought to trial four Roman Catholic priests and three laymen in Cracow on charges of espionage for the US Government. The priests named as defendants were Fathers Jozef Lelito, Franciszek Symonek, Jan Pochopien and Wit Brzycki, who were arrested in mid-November. (See January issue 1953, p. 11.) The lay defendants were listed as Edward Chachlica, Stefania Rospond and Michal Kowalik. According to a broadcast by Radio Warsaw, January 20, the priests abused their position in the church by collecting economic, political and military intelligence material:*

"US Intelligence also provided the accused with false documents, espionage instructions and various bulletins. Some of the accused also carried out currency speculation and used the premises of the Cracow . . . Curia for this purpose. There, they kept dollars, goods and valuable art treasures which constitute national property. Textiles, valuable medicines, arms and other articles were also hidden in the Curia."

On January 27, Rev. Lelito and defendants Kowalik and Chachlica were sentenced to death. Rev. Szymonek was condemned to life imprisonment, and the others received prison sentences ranging from six to 15 years.

It has also been reported that the Archbishop of Cracow, Eugene Baziak, was recently arrested and that to protest this measure, Polish Catholics staged a demonstration which resulted in a number of deaths and injuries when the police intervened. News of the Archbishop's arrest was indirectly confirmed by a Polish press announcement that Bishop Franciszek Jop had been elected Capitular Vicar of Cracow on December 13.

The number of Polish Capitular Vicars has increased

* For other information on religion in Poland see pp. 27-30.

steadily and now totals eight: five in the Western Territories, and one each in Katowice, Cracow and Kielce. Although the Capitular Vicars have the same authority as regular Bishops, of whom there are now fourteen, their position is weaker due to their temporary status and their obligation to take loyalty oaths to the regime.

Terrorists

Bulgarian Communists have also stepped up their campaign against the West. On January 20, after a two-day trial before a Sofia court, ten men were sentenced as agents of a US financed spy ring which allegedly plotted to overthrow the Communist Government. The chief defendant, Todor Stoyanov Christov, was condemned to death, and the others received prison terms ranging from 18 months to 20 years. According to the indictment, the defendants' activity was directed by the US Central Intelligence center in Turkey. Relations between Bulgaria and Turkey have deteriorated steadily in the past few years and the Communist Government has repeatedly accused Turkey of frontier violations and condemned the nation's membership in the Atlantic Pact as a threat to Bulgaria. The Communists have also vehemently denounced negotiations for a Yugoslav, Greek and Turkish agreement. Repudiation of these negotiations was implied in the indictment, which read:

"Numerous trials held in our country have proved that the Balkan satellites of the imperialists have become centers of conspiracy and espionage, attracting adventurers and criminal elements rejected by society. In Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, these persons are trained by agents of foreign states, and after being equipped with arms and other material, are smuggled into our country with intelligence and subversion assignments. . . . Truman's Mutual Security Act is put into effect . . . by the financing of criminal activities against the stability, integrity and independence of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

Defendant Todor Christov, described as a former Army officer under the monarchy, "confessed" that he and two other defendants were instructed by a US Intelligence agent in Istanbul and smuggled into Bulgaria with false papers, photographic equipment, revolvers, K-rations and money. The other defendants, Mihail Strahilov, Lubomir Gudev, Nikola Sapundjiev, Gustav Ivanov, Constantin Arnaudov, Boris Stoyanov, Beltcho Todorov, Dimitri Serafimov and Lubomir Christov corroborated his testimony. Radio Sofia, January 20, broadcast excerpts from the interrogation of defendants Serafimov and Gudev as follows:

"*Presiding Judge Velichkov:* What tasks were you given by your organization?

"*Serafimov:* . . . We were to fight . . . to overthrow the People's Authority, to send groups to the mountains, and to start armed fights. [We were] to establish contact with intelligence centers in Greece and Turkey and with capitalist legations in Sofia. [We were to] carry out subversive activity, cause catastrophes, such as setting

fire to important industrial enterprises, and to conduct hostile propaganda. . . .

"Asked about his activities against the people, defendant Gudev said:

"I was very interested in politics and followed foreign broadcasts regularly, particularly those of Voice of America and Radio London. I met Serafimov in the summer of 1949. We worked in the same enterprise. Whenever we met we spoke . . . of our negative attitude towards the regime. . . ."

"Prosecutor Petrinsky: Is it true that you approved and adopted Serafimov's ideas for organization and for an armed fight against the People's Authority?"

"Gudev: Yes, it is."

II. PRISONS AND POLICE METHODS

Show trials in which participants chant prepared testimony like actors in a play are by now a familiar Communist propaganda device. But it is still surprising that the defendants, many of whom are dedicated revolutionaries or clever, hardened opportunists, become putty in the hands of the police and confess to crimes they never could have committed. Psychological and physical torture undoubtedly play an important part in their capitulation, and it may be that for many, the death sentence appears as a welcome relief from unbearable suffering. For the Communists have perfected a variety of techniques to break down human morale. Their interrogation methods vary from stark brutality to subtle cruelty; sometimes they even smother their victims in kindness so that the contrast between pain and ease is heightened and the benefits of compliance made clear.

Such measures are applied not only to purged government leaders; almost everyone arrested by the Communist police has undergone similar experiences, and knows either the hardships of slave labor or the debasement of enforced idleness and neglect.

Interrogations

The main purpose of Communist interrogations is to make prisoners admit to the charges levelled against them. To achieve this end the Communists have devised a number of methods to frighten their victims into submission. In the intervals between examinations suspects are usually kept in dark, solitary cells where they are given little food and permitted no diversion. In Prague's Pankrac Prison, some of these cells are flooded with water so that the prisoner can neither lie down nor sit, and thus cannot relax. Sometimes, in order to intimidate recalcitrants, prisoners who have been tortured during interrogations are put in cells with those awaiting questioning. In cases of extreme obstinacy, a prisoner is often blindfolded, taken to a field and ordered to dig a grave. Shots are suddenly fired from behind his back, and he is warned of his fate if he refuses to confess.

While some prisoners submit after several beatings,

others, whose resistance is greater, are subjected to special cruelties. One technique is called the "bear's game." Five or more policemen encircle the prisoner who is forced to run about while the police strike blows at his calves. Another "game" is called *bastinado*: the prisoner kneels on a stool with his arms outstretched while police officers flay the bare soles of his feet. In preparation for this, the prisoner is ordered to bathe his feet until the skin is tender. Colonel Lukas, a well-known figure in Czechoslovakia, and military attaché in Washington until 1947, was tortured in this way to such an extent that all his toenails were torn off. He later died as a result of the blows inflicted on him during interrogations.

One Czechoslovak refugee has said that in Sumperk's prison, the police inserted wooden splinters between a prisoner's fingers and then squeezed them together until he fainted. In Ceske Budejovice, the police tied victims to stools, put nooses around their necks, and raised them in the air until they lost consciousness. Another technique was to hang a prisoner on a hook, beat him, and cut him loose abruptly. More often than not, he fractured a bone in the fall. A Bulgarian refugee states that during one examination his hands were bound to a wooden stake. Then two jailers took hold of the ends of the stick, twirled him around, and threw him on the floor. Sometimes, an iron weight is suspended from a prisoner's neck and his hands tied behind his back. He is then forced to maintain an upright position for several hours. Besides employing a number of similar techniques, the Communists often use narcotics and electric shock treatments to force confessions from their victims.

The following refugee reports chosen from among many describing similar experiences will sufficiently illustrate the nature of Communist interrogations.

The notorious 60 Andrassy Ut in Budapest is the headquarters of the Hungarian political police, which, under the Communist regime, has expanded from a small department into a large, well-trained corps of professional Chekists. One emigre doctor was interned in this building on the charge that he had supplied the American Embassy with information. Immediately after his arrest, he was locked in a dark, basement room without a window. When a half hour had passed, he noticed that his shoes were wet. He realized that the room was being filled with water. It rose until it reached his shoulders, then stopped. Shivering from cold, he reasoned that the police didn't want to kill him. There was no point in being afraid. However, after a short while, the water began to rise again and soon reached his mouth:

"I groped about desperately. Finally, I discovered some iron beams above my head. Clutching them, I lifted myself above the water. I knew that the beams were not there by accident; they were part of the Communists' torture plans. I clung to the beams as long as I could, but my strength eventually gave way, and I let go, treading water. I was making a last attempt to get hold of the bar, when a voice called down through an iron grille that the water was being let out. This

process continued until I could stand neck-high in water. They left me like this for about a day. Then I was removed from the cell and given a bowl of warm soup. I collapsed before I had finished it. When I came to, I had dry clothes on and a guard was waving a confession in front of my face. When I had read the document through, I said that I couldn't sign such a statement because I had never taken part in a conspiracy. Besides, I said, I would be signing my death warrant. The guard called me a pig and led me out of the room towards the water cell. On the way I was told that I still had time to change my mind: 'If you refuse, we will fish you out a dead fish,' the guard said. By the time we had reached the door of the cell, I decided that I had no other choice. I would sign."

Shock Treatment

An emigre Hungarian lawyer relates that one client of his, a police officer, was arrested on the charge that he had killed a Russian soldier in 1945. The man protested that this was not true and denied having any knowledge of the incident. After repeated interrogations, he was given the so-called Moscow radio treatment. "The investigators brought out a manually operated electric gadget with two wires. They placed one end of the wire on the prisoner's eyelids and the other on his genitals. Then the electric current was turned on. After about ten minutes, the victim passed out. It took seven such treatments to induce him to sign a prepared confession."

Another of the lawyer's clients was arrested on the charge that she had conspired against the State. When she denied this, the police hit her. Then they removed her shoes and stockings and beat the soles of her feet with a rubber truncheon until she lost consciousness. When she came to and still refused to confess, they threatened to throw her out of the window and announce that she had committed suicide. The woman was so frightened that she agreed to sign although she was not guilty.

House in Strasnice

Previous to his escape from Czechoslovakia, one emigre was arrested in Prague as a member of the anti-Communist underground. He reports that as soon as the police realized that they could not force him to confess by regular methods, they blindfolded him and drove him out of the city to a house in Strasnice, known for the atrocities committed there. He was kept in a locked cell for about two hours and then called in for his first hearing:

"The investigating judge, Dr. Herda, two typists, and seven secret agents were present. Everyone had pads and pencils. The questioning continued for hours without any results. Suddenly Dr. Herda got up and kicked me. . . . Then my hands were tied behind my back and I was blindfolded. Someone punched me in the stomach. Then I was hit on the back of the head. One blow followed another until finally I passed out. The next thing I knew cold water was being poured over me. My glasses were broken and I could barely move. . . .

"Other investigations followed, but after the second I lost interest in everything and grew completely apa-

thetic. I had a constant taste of blood in my mouth and I could hardly see. Sometimes I was allowed to sit during the hearings, but usually I had to stand. Every so often I was told to stretch out on the floor. Then they beat me with sticks, hoses and irons. At other times, they hit me on the kidneys with a sandbag. I was also given electric shocks. Later, I discovered that these hearings lasted over 11 days. During that time I was given food only twice. . . .

"One day a guard came to my cell and ordered me to put on civilian clothes. I was then blindfolded and led outside. I expected to be put in a car, but nothing happened. Suddenly, I heard the click of a gun behind me. A voice said: 'Start running.' Although I thought that they meant to shoot me and say that I had attempted to escape, I stumbled forward. But I staggered and passed out. When I came to I was in my cell. . . .

"My hearings finally came to an end and I was taken back to the prison in Prague, where a detective showed me written evidence against me. I then agreed to confess, realizing the pointlessness of denying my guilt."

Inside Prison Walls

By a decree of February 28, 1948, the administration of Bulgarian prisons was transferred from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Interior: this meant that the police rather than lawyers or penologists were to supervise prisons. Under the new law, each prison is managed by a director and two deputy-directors, one of whom is a political commissar charged with the Communist indoctrination of inmates. He gives evening courses, conducts seminars and lines up visiting lecturers, usually Party activists. Prisoners are often asked prepared questions in class, such as "What is the difference between bourgeois democracy and the People's Democracy, and which of the two is better?" A prisoner's treatment may depend on whether or not his answers satisfy the commissar; he can be punished or granted certain privileges. The other deputy director is in charge of "making correct and reasonable" use of the prisoners' time; that is, he assigns them to special labor brigades, such as vegetable gardening, work on prison property and construction projects.

Of the 24 prisons in Bulgaria, the three most feared are in Sofia, Sliven and Kolarovgrad. Before the Communists took power, Sofia Central Prison housed about 800 inmates; now, the average number of internees is about 3,500. One escapee writes that the 12 x 6 cell he shared with three other men had two mattresses and one blanket. In the daytime, prisoners could walk about their cells or sit on the floor; but no one was permitted to lie down. Daily food rations consisted of about 14 ounces of black bread, bean or leek soup for lunch and the same for supper. Occasionally, macaroni or small pieces of meat were served, and in the summer, spinach was substituted for soup.

The common penalty for infringing prison rules was standing at attention for several hours; sometimes a prisoner had to remain in this position for as long as a day. Harsher penalties were also applied. For "grave crimes," prisoners were confined to either "dry" or "wet" punish-

ment cells; the former, used in winter, had open windows and no central heating; the latter, which were in basements, were so arranged that when it rained puddles of water, sometimes knee-deep, formed on the floor.

Prisoners were divided into three categories, according to the gravity of their crimes. Those serving the longest sentences were allowed to receive a food parcel of about 6½ lbs. every four months, as well as 15 leva (\$2.50) with which to buy cigarettes and stationery. Prisoners in the second category were allowed parcels weighing about 8½ lbs. and 20 leva (\$3); and those in the third category, about 12 lbs. of food and 25 leva (\$3.75). Similarly, first category prisoners could receive one letter every four months and two visitors a year—each visit lasting ten minutes. Second and third category prisoners were allowed two and four visitors, respectively, every four months.

Indoctrination courses were given three times weekly and lasted about two hours each. Party lecturers interpreted official newspapers, praised the USSR, condemned the West and expatiated on current propaganda themes. One refugee relates the following in connection with these courses:

"Most of us in Kolarovgrad were completely apathetic in class. However, some prisoners could not resist baiting the lecturer. One day, when the Party activist began to sing the praises of collective farming, an inmate called out: 'If what you say is true, why are peasants leaving the kolkhozes?' The prisoner was accused of sabotage and sentenced to six months solitary confinement."

Unsanitary Conditions

The general setup in Bulgarian prisons is paralleled in other parts of Eastern Europe, where the detention of citizens who are never brought to trial or who are sentenced only after spending months in jail is common procedure. For instance, one Romanian refugee writes: "A cousin of mine was jailed in Vacaresti along with his mother because my uncle was sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage. Neither my aunt nor my cousin was ever tried. He was released after six months, and his mother was kept in prison for a year." Because of this and the great number of arrests made by Communist authorities, prisons are overcrowded and unsanitary. According to the bulk of information submitted by refugees, rough treatment, an unhealthy atmosphere and insufficient food make existence in Communist jails intolerable.

Polish escapees state that conditions in all prisons are bad, but that those in provincial jails (voievodships) are by far the worst. Cells are usually lice-ridden and lack air, light and heating. Inmates are forced to sleep on bare cement floors or in straw sacks covered with sheets or blankets. Linen is changed once every six months, and prisoners can bathe about once every four weeks. It is reported that prisoners in Wroclaw staged a hunger strike in the fall of 1952 to protest their poor treatment. The Security Police suppressed the rebellion and shot two inmates because they shouted their complaints out the window to passersby. One young Pole, who was imprisoned in Wroclaw for trying to cross the border, reports that inmates are punished even for harmless attempts to amuse themselves. The young man made a chess set out of stale bread so that he and his cell mates would have some way of passing the time. When the guard discovered this, he deprived the young man of half his rations for seven days, forced him to eat the leaden chess board, and put him in a punishment cell for 24 hours.

In most Polish jails informers are planted among the prisoners. These men are usually recruited from the ranks of those who are awaiting trial and who have broken down during interrogations. After spending several days in one cell, an informer is "called up for examination." What he actually does is submit his information to the warden. He is permitted to rest for a few days and is then transferred to another cell for the same purpose. As a reward for these services, he receives special food parcels containing bread, lard, onions, bacon and cigarettes—all scarcities inside prisons.

Conditions in Mokotow prison, which houses mainly political prisoners who will be used in future show trials either as witnesses or defendants, are reported to be better than those in other jails. This is not accidental; the Communists' aim is to keep these prisoners in fit form for extensive questioning. Victims are often tortured and then sent to the infirmary to recover so that they can be grilled again. Sometimes a prisoner is treated gently: he is allowed to rest in his cell, given books and newspapers and drawn into conversations. This treatment is based on the theory that for the price of relatively human treatment and decent food, he will agree to become a police collaborator.

Reports on Jaszbereny Prison in Hungary give further evidence of the maltreatment and neglect of prisoners. Built to house about 180, under Communist direction the Prison has interned as many as 580 inmates. Prisoners are often forced to share straw mattresses with several cell mates and are continually plagued by vermin. One former inmate writes that every week a small piece of poor quality soap was distributed to each prisoner; the soap disintegrated as soon as it was submerged in water and lasted for only one washing. Prisoners were shaved every seven days and permitted to shower once monthly. As for the daily menu, our correspondent writes:

"In the morning we were given black coffee and bread. For lunch, a bowl of thin soup and a vegetable, usually dried beans or lentils. A few small pieces of horse meat floating in a watery gravy were served twice weekly. Suppers consisted of dried potatoes, beans or macaroni."

In Romania's Timisoara prison, political internees receive tea and a piece of sugar for breakfast, soup and a half pound of bread for lunch, and the same soup with no bread at night. In Gherla prison, the daily diet is 3/8 lb. of bread or corn mush, watery soup and beans. In Aiud, meat is never served, and sometimes there is neither bread nor corn mush. Sanitary conditions can best be summed

up by the following excerpts taken from Romanian refugee reports:

"... Political prisoners are placed in cells large enough for only one person. They are never permitted to leave their cells for questioning, and are rarely given a change of linen. Cells have no windows, and lights are kept on night and day. Naturally, the place is infested with bedbugs...."

"Gherla prison, built to house about 800, now contains 4,100 prisoners, mostly former Army personnel. The Mislea women's prison, formerly housing about 250, now contains 400 prisoners. About 25 to 40 women are assigned to each cell.... In Aiud, the worst prison of all, there are 3,000 in a building designed for 450. Thirty of us were in a cell measuring 170 square feet."

Privileges for Common Criminals

Political prisoners far outnumber common criminals in Communist jails. For instance, Romanian escapees state that 700 of the 1,000 inmates in Timisoara are political, and that among the 3,000 prisoners in Aiud, only 100 are regular convicts. Furthermore, common criminals are given preferential treatment and often put in positions of authority. Statements made by several refugees revealed the following types of discrimination:

"Political prisoners in Aiud were confined to their cells while common criminals were permitted to work in the yard. They acted as middlemen for political prisoners who wanted cigarettes...."

"Cells in the political section of Timisoara had no cots as did those in the regular section. In addition, common criminals were allowed out for a few minutes each day and could receive packages and visitors, while we were rarely allowed to leave our cells...."

"The former director of Craiova Prison was a criminal who had met Teohari Georgescu when they were both in jail. Georgescu gave him this post, but he was later dismissed for embezzling prison funds...."

"The director of Aiud Prison was a certain Berila, once sentenced to hard labor for life because he had murdered both his parents."

Similarly, it is reported that in Bulgaria's Kustendil prison, jailers are picked from among the most hardened criminals and given a free hand in torturing inmates. The distinction made between political and common criminals in Haskovo jail has been described as follows by a refugee from Sofia:

"As in all Bulgarian prisons, common criminals in Haskovo are treated far better than political prisoners. Although prison regulations state that an inmate has the right to see one visitor a month, this holds true only for common criminals; political internees can see visitors only once every six months. Political prisoners are put in underground cells and are confined in them for about 22 hours a day. Common criminals are housed on the ground floor, where they have more air and light. During the day, they can work in the fields or in prison workshops. This is perhaps their greatest advantage."

Prison Labor

Despite prison indoctrination courses, the Communists are little interested in the re-education of convicts. Their main concern is to exploit prison labor, and although they rarely permit major political prisoners to leave their cells, those convicted of minor political crimes against the State are used as cheap manpower along with other types of internees. For instance, most Czechoslovak prisoners are now assigned to hard labor, whereas before the war those serving short sentences were given field or garden work, and long term prisoners were trained as skilled laborers and employed in prison workshops. One refugee who served his prison term working in a Communist uranium mine declares that all prisoners are considered expendable and assigned to any project the economic authorities see fit, regardless of the inadequate health and safety measures on most of these sites. Another refugee writes:

"About 100 of us were interned in Sedlec, near Most, to work on the quarries. We began at seven and stopped at four. We had to walk 45 minutes to reach the quarry and went on foot in all weather. Each man had a daily quota, and failure to fulfill it was made up by overtime work. Sometimes our lunch was brought to us, but often we had to walk back to the prison and had no opportunity at all to rest at noon. When we returned from the quarries we were forced to attend Russian courses or classes in general political indoctrination. Although the prison had a doctor, the only one authorized to excuse an inmate from work because of illness was the prison commander. It was his policy to declare everyone healthy."

As in other parts of Iron Curtain Europe, Hungarian prisoners who are permitted to work are selected carefully. They are usually recruited from among the ranks of workers and peasants, while professional men, priests, and young bachelors who might attempt to escape, are condemned to spend their days in idleness. One exception to this is the button factory in the National Penitentiary, where some 120 elderly prisoners, mostly doctors, lawyers, clergymen and white collar workers, are employed under harrowing conditions. Although theoretically they are paid for their work, they have little money left after State deductions. Often, they are not paid at all. It is reported that since June 1951, employees in the workshop have not been allowed to use the ventilation system. Nor can they open the windows. One refugee says that at times dust clouded the room like a dense fog: "What with the bad air and low calorie diet, many prisoners I knew faltered in the work and made innumerable mistakes. For this, they were severely punished. Most of us considered the workshop a slow road to death; we suspected that the Communists had imposed such conditions in the button factory to eliminate aging employees."

Escapes

Many prisoners in Communist Europe attempt to flee to the West, although they know that failure will probably mean death. One Hungarian refugee who was assigned to

a construction project along with a number of other prisoners has described the escape and subsequent capture of a fellow inmate:

"Most of us wore gray regulation prison suits on our jobs. However, there weren't enough to go around, and some prisoners were given ordinary brown suits. One young peasant, Sandor Szabo, decided to take advantage of the fact that he had been issued a civilian suit by mingling with the group of regular workers also employed on the project. At noon one day, he went to lunch with them instead of with us, and afterwards managed to get on the highway undetected. He counted on the fact that his clothes would not attract attention. Unfortunately, a control group passing by in a jeep noticed him and reported him to the construction authorities. A posse of guards set out after him and brought him back to the prison, where all the inmates were forced to line up and witness his punishment. The guards beat him until he collapsed and then tied a 50 lb. iron to his leg. When he regained consciousness, he was forced to walk up and down the prison court for hours. After that, we never saw him again."

Treatment of Foreigners

It is well-known that visitors to as well as citizens of Eastern Europe have suffered in Communist prisons. Reports from two Scandinavian sailors who were interned in Polish jails reveal that the Communist authorities often arrest foreign seamen at random because of their fear of spies, and impose severe penalties on them for slight violations of law. One of the above-mentioned sailors spent 2½ years in various prisons and camps. He was arrested in Szczecin after having spoken to a Polish seaman in a restaurant. After three days he was released, but by that time his ship had left Poland. He decided to go to the Swedish Consulate to make other arrangements, but was arrested in front of the building because "he had no right to visit foreign consulates without a special permit." The police charged him with being a spy and he was interrogated for 36 hours without receiving either food or drink. Although he was threatened with torture he refused to confess. After his examination, he was put in a cell with 13 other prisoners and not freed until over two years later.

A machinist on the Norwegian vessel, *Henrik Ibsen*, was arrested last July on the charge that he had smuggled Poles out of the country. The prisoner was given neither an attorney nor an interpreter until the Norwegian Foreign Office intervened. The Communists then gave him a Polish lawyer who spoke Norwegian. But the lawyer never explained to the machinist what was happening during the trial, and merely announced at its conclusion that the prisoner had been sentenced to six months in jail. This was later commuted to four months. While he was in prison the machinist lost 26 lbs. because he was made to exist on a bread and soup diet. This machinist was the first Norwegian to share the fate of many Swedish and Danish sailors and fishermen arrested by the Polish police.

III. GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS

Recent events in Eastern Europe revealed various problems and policies for the Iron Curtain regimes. In Poland and Czechoslovakia, the Communists decried weaknesses in cadre activities and worker and manager indifference. The Bulgarian Government suffered a defeat in the December elections and tried to conceal it by victory propaganda. Party leaders in Hungary denounced the western leanings of young people and planned to increase membership in Stalinist youth organizations. This was partly for the purpose of using rural youth as shock troops in agricultural collectivization. In Lithuania, also, cosmopolitanism was condemned, and election preparations in all Baltic countries placed Stalin first on the list of candidates.

Inefficient Cadres

In Poland, as elsewhere in Eastern Europe, the Communist regime is continually confronted with the problem of maintaining efficient political, economic and administrative cadres. With the ever-increasing tasks imposed upon Communist officials, this problem has recently become acute. Overburdened local Party activists excuse shortcomings by claiming that they do not have enough help. Party leaders, on the other hand, claim that failures are due to the inefficiency of local leaders. For instance, in an editorial on December 17, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), complained that too many men in high posts do not care about their work and that unqualified leadership is the main cause of cadre weaknesses:

" . . . By what, if not opportunistic shortsightedness, can we explain . . . the frequent acceptance of inefficient or [hostile] persons to high posts under the pretext of a cadre shortage. This policy harms our work and is contrary to the principles of revolutionary vigilance. . . . A particularly dangerous habit of some local Party units is selecting cadres on the basis of personal relationships instead of according to the candidates' political and technical qualifications. This leads to the formation of cliques . . . which hinder cadre development. For example, it is difficult to imagine the normal development of cadres in the PGR [State Farms] in Putka, where the director surrounded himself with his relatives."

Communists in rural areas are having similar difficulties with regard to the shortage of efficient cadres. Last November, all provincial and district executive committees of the United Polish Peasant Party were ordered to remedy this by training new activists in accordance with Communist directives to expedite the recruitment of new workers. Provincial courses last six days and district courses three days. However, recent reports state that this program is not progressing smoothly. For example, *Wola Ludu* (Warsaw), December 15, complained about the careless selection of candidates:

" . . . Peasants not belonging to the Party, or former members of the ZSL [Peasant Party] who were expelled for hostile attitudes or opportunism, enlisted in provincial courses. . . . In Koszalin, some [committees] selected

persons who neglect duties connected with their work, persons known as loafers who registered in courses because they wanted to have a rest. . . . Similar cases occurred in other provinces. . . . The ideologists and progressive Party members who enjoy the confidence and respect of peasants should be the ones selected for this special training. . . . Among the scores of provincial courses already completed, only several have had a sufficient number of students."

Party Conference

Although Klement Gottwald and other Czechoslovak leaders continually assert that they enjoy the workers' support in carrying out Party policy, the speeches made at the state-wide Party Conference, held in Prague between December 16 and 18, revealed that apathy and defection are prevalent throughout the nation. Local Party leaders tried to explain away shortcomings by blaming the "class enemy." For instance, the Regional Party Secretary for Ostrava said that unsatisfactory coal production was due to the fact that alien elements had joined the Party after February 1948 and had disrupted it. The Party Secretary of the District Committee in Cesky Tesin admitted that "sabotage" in Ostrava was widespread and perpetrated not only by workers but also by youth and members of mass organizations. The Secretary attributed failures in cadre policy to the fact that unqualified people had been assigned to leading posts:

"That cadre assignments are deliberately irresponsible is proved by the fact that a former German soldier and member of Rommel's Army, Karel Turon, could become Chairman of the [District Committee] in Trinec. As Chairman, he was assigned in 1950 to the post of worker-manager in one of the largest rolling mills, although he had neither expert technical nor political qualifications. Despite repeated complaints, he has been recalled only recently. . . . Such cases are numerous. . . . [and have] a bad effect on mass political activities. . . . Remnants of sabotage methods in Party activities [prevent the] . . . fulfillment of Party and Government resolutions [and are apparent] in indifference to schooling, defeatism, and lack of confidence in the possibility of completing set tasks. It must be admitted that these sabotage methods undoubtedly reflect on the activities of mass organizations, mainly youth groups."

As a result of these complaints, it is probable that workers will be more strictly supervised in 1953 so that Plan fulfillment meets regime expectations. The Party will probably discuss measures to be taken at regional Party conferences which are to follow the Conference in Prague.

Hungarian Youth

Throughout 1952, the Hungarian Communist Government waged a campaign to expand the regime-dominated youth organization, DISZ. From official reports it is evident that the goal of this drive is to make young people the shock troops of Communist production and enthusiastic adherents of Stalinism. In preparation for 1953, the First National Convention of DISZ was held last December

6 and 7. The meeting was attended by the entire Communist high command and addresses were delivered by Minister of Defense Mihaly Farkas and Secretary-General of DISZ Istvan Denes. Both men outlined DISZ' program for the coming year and pointed out shortcomings which must be eliminated. Farkas said that by the end of 1953 working youth must comprise the vanguard of "Socialist" building. The Minister added that since in all probability most of the peasantry will belong to cooperative farms by the end of 1954, DISZ' major task is to mold village youth into exemplary workers on collective farms. The obvious purpose of this measure is to ensure the success of collectivization, and to make certain that economic targets are fulfilled. The weakest sector of DISZ, as described by Farkas, is in academic institutions, where there are a number of "imperialist sympathizers":

"The fact that reactionary views are openly spread in our universities is a warning that DISZ must win the struggle against imperialist sympathizers and cosmopolitan propaganda. . . . Certain hostile and cosmopolitan elements in our universities and academies have faith in American war preparations. I must warn them that the American Army has suffered a shameful defeat in Korea. . . ."

Despite his emphasis on the weakness of the American Army, Farkas found it necessary to assure young people of Communist strength:

"We cannot be frightened. We are strong—not only because we have a modern army, but also because we have developed into an industrial country, . . . and because, if we are forced into war against our will, our people, and our youth in the forefront, will fight like one body to repulse every single imperialist attack against our nation. Today we are in a position to say that we not only have something to defend, but that we also have the means with which to defend it."

Istvan Denes made a similar speech placing particular emphasis on the importance of expanding DISZ. He said that the level of the organization's work could be judged by its increased membership. Since last June, when the Party decided to enlarge DISZ, membership has grown by approximately 50,000 and at present totals 710,000. Denes set the goal for 1953 at an additional 300,000, to be recruited mainly from rural areas.

Denes also laid stress on the political education of children in the Pioneer organization, now numbering 920,000 members—an increase of 14,000 over 1951. Work in this organization must be improved by linking it to the Party and DISZ: "Remnants of independence [evident] in the Pioneer movement must be wiped out, and all Pioneer activities must be guided by . . . the Party and DISZ Committees."

Like Farkas, Denes also emphasized the importance of mobilizing village youth for work on cooperatives and of crushing the "hostile bourgeois views of young people":

"The education of youth in a Socialist spirit cannot be separated from the ruthless struggle against hostile views. In youth we still see traces of nationalist, chau-

vinist, anti-Semitic, Social Democratic and clerical ideologies; we also discern lack of discipline and irresponsibility in work. Some young people still betray signs of cynicism, selfish materialism, cosmopolitanism and vestiges of bourgeois morals in irresponsible and superficial relations in the family and between boys and girls. . . ."

Rakosi Speaks

In an address to the opening session of the Hungarian National Assembly, Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi discussed at length the Soviet theory that the Western world is on the verge of economic collapse and that schisms in the "capitalist camp" are increasing. This thesis was loudly proclaimed at the 19th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in October. Since that time, a number of leading Hungarian Communists, such as Jeno Varga, Andor Berei and Erno Gero, have contributed to its propagation. The campaign was especially intense in December, and most articles followed the lines of Rakosi's speech. As quoted by *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), December 16, the Prime Minister said:

"In their attempt at world domination, the American imperialists have forced [their allies] into a mad armaments race. Since the imperialists deliver most of the weapons, they make big profits. At the same time, US monopolist-capitalists are continuing to exploit their allies' economies. For instance, it is clear that the Americans . . . want to replace the British capitalists in Iran. They have also installed themselves in Morocco. . . . The struggle among capitalist countries has been intensified because they do not have at their disposal the territory inhabited by the 800 million people belonging to the Soviet-led peace camp. Competition on the capitalist world market has increased with the re-appearance of Japan and Germany. In conjunction with the American monopolist-capitalists' efforts at world domination, a strong Fascist trend has developed in the US itself. . . . The secret police have on file the fingerprints of all workers. . . . America carefully selects the remnants of Fascist riff-raff from all parts of the world, and like Hitler and Mussolini, supports the forces of reaction everywhere. . . . As a result of [increasing economic difficulties] the capitalist countries are beginning to realize that their big enemy is their ally, the US, and that their freedom and independence are endangered only by the US imperialists. . . . Anti-American feeling is growing stronger in [all] subjugated capitalist countries. . . . Members of the peace camp must struggle incessantly to expose the [US] which in the name of 'freedom,' 'democracy' and 'Free Europe' is preparing a new war."

New Ministries

The Hungarian Government has recently announced the establishment of three new Ministries: for the Chemical Industry, Smelting, and Advanced Education. According to Deputy Prime Minister Erno Gero, the purpose of setting up the first two is to have more direct control over production. The Ministry of Advanced Education will supervise the activities of 27 universities and colleges.

Szabad Nep (Budapest), December 23, said that the President of the People's Republic had appointed Gergely Szabo Minister of the Chemical Industry, and Tibor Erdey-Gruz the Minister of Advanced Education. Istvan Kossa, formerly Minister of the Smelting and Machine Industry, was made Minister of the General Machine Industry. Mihaly Zsifinyec, Minister of Semi-Heavy Industry, will now head the Ministry of Smelting. Thus, in accordance with the Soviet pattern, the number of Hungarian Ministries has now increased from 29 to 31.

Chankov Heads Bulgarian Economy

For about a year, reports from Bulgaria have mentioned a struggle for power among top Communists. The present leader in Bulgaria is Moscow-trained Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov. His rivals are said to be Ivan Michailov, Peter Panchevsky and Georgi Chankov. In recent weeks, Chervenkov scored a victory in the transfer of Vice-Premier Georgi Chankov to the post of Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Exiles state that this transfer is virtually a demotion and a clever move by Chervenkov in the chess game of internal politics. As Chairman, Chankov is a member of the Government, but does not have the status of Minister. More important, this post is dangerous, for Chankov automatically becomes responsible for Bulgarian economy, which at present is reportedly poor. Collectivization has been at a standstill for the past two years, the monetary reform and the Communist anti-inflation policy have failed, and economic plans have not been fulfilled. Chankov is thus in a position to be made a scapegoat in any future Party purge.

All three rivals of Chervenkov are loyal Muscovites. Chankov studied at the International Lenin School in Moscow and after the Communists took power in Bulgaria became head of Party cadres. Later, he was made Minister of Communication and Transport, and in November 1950, became Vice-Premier. Michailov, a Soviet citizen and a Bulgarian General, is Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, and is known to have direct control of the Ministry of National Defense. Some sources report that he is Moscow's eye in Sofia and receives orders directly from Stalin. Panchevsky, also a Soviet General, is Minister of National Defense and in charge of Sovietizing the Bulgarian Army. The results of this prolonged internecine conflict naturally cannot be surmised. It is clear, however, that Chankov is by far in the most vulnerable position.

Elections

According to an official announcement of the Bulgarian Government, elections to the People's Councils, which were held on December 14, did not take place in 41 precincts. Radio Sofia, December 17, gave no explanation of this, although according to the electoral law, elections must be held throughout the country on the same day. The Government also announced that in 27 districts the registered candidates did not receive a decisive majority. In making this public, Radio Sofia referred to Article 118 of the electoral law which states that if less than 50 percent of those

entitled to vote in a district do not go to the polls, new elections are obligatory. In the opinion of an exiled journalist, this announcement reveals that the government failed in 27 precincts where it did not expect to. "Otherwise, these districts would not have been permitted to hold elections, as was the case in the 41 precincts mentioned above. In all, the Government was defeated in 68 precincts which showed their opposition to the regime. To conceal this failure, propagandists have launched a campaign proclaiming the Communists' 'great electoral victory.'"

Elections to local councils will take place in Estonia and Lithuania on February 22 and in Latvia on March 1. According to Radio Tallinn, December 21, preparations for elections will be characterized by work competitions and agit-propaganda throughout the country. Activists will emphasize in particular Stalin's treatise on the *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, the Five Year Plan, the 19th Party Congress, and the means of developing from "Socialism to Communism." Candidates are being nominated in factories, workshops and on kolkhozes: all, however, are Party-sponsored and Party-controlled. According to Radio Vilnius, January 20, Stalin is the first candidate in all Lithuanian districts.

"Bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism" were severely denounced as the ideology of American "warmongers" in a recent speech by Secretary-General of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Antanas Snieckus. In his address to Party activists in Vilnius, Snieckus revealed that ideological deviation and "western leanings" are two major Party problems. As quoted by *Tiesa*, November 2, Snieckus said:

"We must unmask the so-called American way of life and pseudo-American democracy. We must unmask . . . the theory of a united national movement, which denies the class struggle, and idealizes the feudal past and the so-called bourgeois national movements at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. [This theory] . . . ignores the revolutionary traditions of the Lithuanian nation and the revolutionary movement of the Russian working people, as well as the Bolshevik Party's [aid] in the liberation of the Lithuanian people.

"The Seventh Party Conference condemned those Party members who committed nationalist errors, who accommodated themselves to bourgeois nationalism. . . . We must do away with inadequate ideological work, and indifference to ideological errors and distortions."

The Red and the Black

The Church in the Communist State

THE Communist ethic and the religious ethic cannot live together. Communism has always denied the choice between matter and spirit, between temporal and divine authority. Communist morality is historical, materialist and determinist; religious morality is eternal, transcendental and volitional. Both philosophies claim to create a new man and a new order, a kingdom of socialism on earth or a Kingdom of God in Heaven, and between these two total claims there is no possible rapprochement.

As Lenin states it in *Socialism and Religion*:

"The impotence of the exploited classes in the struggle with the exploiters inevitably gives birth to faith in a better life beyond the grave, just as the impotence of primitive people in the struggle with nature gives birth to gods, devils, miracles, etc. To him who all his life works and suffers need, religion teaches humility and patience in earthly life, comforting him with the hope of heavenly reward. And to those who live by the toil of others, religion teaches philanthropy in earthly life, offering them very cheap justification for all their exploiting existence and selling at low price tickets to heavenly bliss. Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual gin in which the slaves of capital drown their human figures, their demands for any sort of worthy human life."

But Communist persecution of religion is not purely a matter of antipathetic theory. Differences of philosophy are strengthened by the practical fact that organized religion refuses to submit to any State which demands complete control over the individual's will and conscience. Religion, then, presents the Communists with a political problem, a problem in division of power, which it can never accept, and a possible focus for discontent which it can never countenance. In addition, there is an economic

basis to the antireligious campaign. Particularly in East and Central Europe, the Communists have always coveted the lands and wealth of the Church.

This conflict between Church and State is manifest most dramatically in education. The Church refuses to give up its power to educate youth in its way while the Communists not only maintain but exercise their exclusive right to indoctrinate the next generation in their version of militant atheism. (As Lenin put it in *Marx-Engels Marxism*: "The education, training and indoctrination of present-day youth must be performed according to Communist morals.") The Communists seem willing to relinquish the older generation to religion, but they insist on neutralizing the influence of the older generation on the younger. In education one can perceive most clearly that the Communist Satellites seek to destroy religion and subvert its adherents. In this connection, perhaps the best expression of their point of view is in the works of Communist theoreticians themselves, where the pseudo-benevolence towards religion is also openly belied by Marxist polemics. For instance, as Stalin has phrased it in *Questions and Answers to American Trade Unionists* (1927):

"Communism will agitate against both Catholicism and Protestantism and against Orthodoxy in order to bring about the triumph of the Socialistic world outlook.

. . . The [Communist] Party cannot be neutral towards religion and it does conduct antireligious propaganda against all and every religious prejudice."

Or as it has been brought up to date by Stalinist Minister of Information Kopecky in Czechoslovakia, when he said in July, 1952:

"People who go to church demonstrate their opposition to the People's Democracy and Socialism, gain courage in Church to invoke American imperialism. . . . In

the struggle against such enemies, we stop at nothing. We do not hesitate even to enter upon the so-called holy ground of the churches, monasteries and convents. Nor are we stopped by the so-called sacred cloth of priestly surplises."

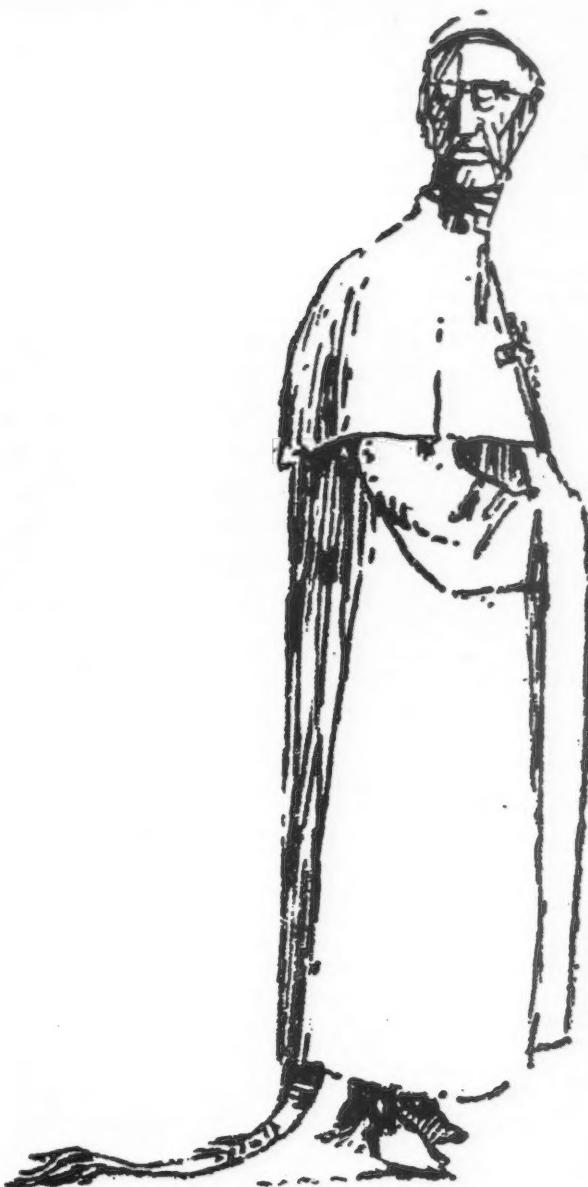
Tactics and Strategy

It is always meaningful to point up the difference between Communist tactics and strategy. Although the ultimate goal is destruction of the Church and the extirpation of religion, the more immediate demands of Stalinist strategy are for domination of the clerical apparatus for their own specific purposes. The Stalinists know that the task of governing a conquered people is made simpler and easier if they can use that people's religion to help make them amenable to the Communist will, and that the rapid and effective consolidation of the captive countries can be facilitated by conquest of their Churches. Therefore, Stalinist emphasis is on domesticating the Churches. The theoretical insistence on separation of Church and State is a dialectical ruse for disguising their real goal: a State-controlled and directed Church. In moving toward this goal, the Communists are following Lenin's advice in "The Attitude of the Workers' Party towards Religion," where he wrote:

"The fight against religion must be conducted with sagacity. . . . With his open crusade against the churches, Bismarck only succeeded in strengthening the militant spirit of the Catholics. He also diverted the attention of the working classes and certain segments of democratic elements from the most urgent problems of revolutionary class struggle, directing it towards the most superficial fake anticlericalism, characteristic of the bourgeoisie."

The long range aim of extirpation of religion has not been abandoned but the immediate necessity of reducing the Church to an instrument of government policy is now in the forefront of Communist planning. Antireligious propaganda remains virulent and is especially focused on youth, but short term objectives are to replace Church leadership with Stalinist sympathizers and to prevail upon the Church leadership to propagate and support the various aspects of regime policy. Communist causes are multifarious and include everything from support of collectivization and urging fulfillment of production norms to preaching in favor of the Stockholm Peace Appeal and the anti-West hate campaign.

The tactics vary with the strengths of the opposition and the particular national and international political situation. In their desire to win over the masses of the captive area, traditionally a stronghold of religion, the Communists have adopted a mask of pseudo-tolerance for church and religion as a method of confusing and propagandizing the people and the West. This has led to what seems to be a contradiction in Stalinist methods but is, in fact, no contradiction at all. Individuals presumably have the "legal" freedoms of conscience and worship, but neither individuals nor groups may contest the antireligious activities of the Party or the State. In short, religion may be neither propagated



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From *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), August 17, 1952

nor defended against the attacks of its enemies although Party and State sponsor militant ideological assaults on faith.

Divide and Conquer

The Communists have applied to religion those same tactics they found effective in politics. A complicated com-

bination of the divide-and-conquer and the Trojan Horse techniques, for which the Communists have shown great aptitude, has been used against the Churches. Not only did they want to divide the Churches from their contacts with the West, but also from their flocks and the life of their communities. In order to weaken religious opposition, they divided various denominations from one another and attempted to play one against the other. They attempted to conquer the Church from within, by infiltration of its hierarchy, by revision of its canon and by manipulation of its organization, so that ultimately they might use the Church as an instrument for its own dissolution.

The conquest of the Church has been executed in roughly three stages. The first begins with the clergy being enveloped in an atmosphere of fear and violence. Threatening demonstrations are organized to disrupt religious ceremonies and press and radio, State-controlled, launch a campaign of invective against Church and churchmen. Members of the clergy and influential members of the laity are intimidated, arrested, imprisoned, or simply "disappear." Other pressures are brought to bear. Buildings used for religious purposes are requisitioned for governmental uses; clerical salaries are reduced or eliminated; rations are cut or ration cards withdrawn altogether; and heavy taxes are imposed on clerics and clerical property.

The second stage intensifies the process. The clerical press is censored and then expropriated. The clergy is kept under police surveillance and mail and telephone censorship is invoked. Church gatherings require State permits and censorship is gradually extended to the pulpit. Stages one and two not only separate the clergy from its flock and from the West, but stage two also disrupts the internal organization of the church, thus impairing its ability to resist Communist incursions.

The third stage usually results in partial or total suppression of the Church, or in its manipulation as a Communist front. Slave labor, deportation, prison camp and firing squad are brought into play. Control is established by the use of pro-Stalinist elements in the clergy, under the title of "peace priests," "patriotic priests," "citizen priests," or "Catholic Action," and schools, seminaries, and churches are either closed or Communist-dominated. Religious and lay organizations are dissolved and various Church-sponsored groups, youth movements, welfare institutions, clubs, sodalities, trade unions, are disbanded. Education is a primary target in all three stages of Communist attack. In general, in captive Europe, the State-Church conflict has entered this crucial third stage.

When the post-war world brought new areas of Europe under Stalinist control, the Communists faced many problems. The captive area contained a myriad of religious groups—Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics (Uniates), Protestants, Moslems and Jews—but almost half of the total population of the territories was Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholic Church not only was solidly established, but had a long tradition of autonomy and connection with the Western world, as well as the most powerful and efficient organization in the whole area with which

to fight Communism. And it is with that Church that the Communists have joined their most critical struggle.

Communism's war against the Churches has been carried out primarily on two fronts, Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox, and we shall deal first with the predominantly Catholic countries and afterward with the predominantly Orthodox.

HUNGARY:

Because the Catholic community in Hungary was so large and powerful and with so deep-rooted a historical tradition, the Communists did not at first dare to attack the Church directly. The first post-war elections had given the Communists a resounding defeat (See "Election Masquerade," August issue, pp. 45-46), and their first steps were directed toward consolidating their political control. But even at that time, through their domination of the Ministry of Interior and the police, their antireligious campaign had begun.

On the basis of statistical data from the 1949 census, an estimate was made of Hungarian confessions:

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Adherents</i>	<i>Percentages</i>
Roman Catholic	6,212,400	67.5
Greek Catholic (Uniate)	230,000	2.5
Calvinist	1,911,600	20.8
Lutheran	550,600	6.0
Jewish	170,000	1.8
Eastern Orthodox (not United Orthodox)	37,000	0.4
Others and non-denominational	91,500	1.0

The above figures indicate that only two groups, Roman Catholic and Protestant, comprised almost 95 percent of the total population, and it was against these two, but particularly the Catholic, that the Communists had to strike to achieve their objectives.

The first step taken was in March 1945 when agrarian reform confiscated 250,000 acres of Church forest lands. This struck at the Church's source of income which the Communists hoped would undermine the Church's schools, periodicals, and organization itself. It was not until after the August 1947 elections, however, that the Communists were politically strong enough to attack the Church directly. At a meeting of the National Congress of the Communist Party on January 11, 1948, Matyas Rakosi defined the Party goal for 1948, when he said: "The task of our party this year is to settle the relationship between the Church and the Republic. It cannot be tolerated that the majority of the enemies of the people should hide in the shadow of Churches, especially the Catholic Church." The Catholic Church was a primary objective not only because it was the largest Church but also because it was an essential part of the people's life, particularly the peasants' life. General dissatisfaction with the Communists and spiritual resistance had crystallized around the Church and its determined and courageous Primate, Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty.

Special Feature

Ortutay's Four Points

In Hungary the Church had always played an important role in the education of youth. Prior to 1945 a large number of schools had been maintained by the Church and religious lessons were compulsory in state and municipal schools. In 1946 the Communists had launched their drive for abolishing religious lessons, but popular and clerical resistance was so great that they were forced to backtrack. In 1948, on March 19, secure in their power, the Communists had their Minister of Education Julius Ortutay propose a four point program for elimination of religious influence in the schools. Almost all Church schools were confiscated by the State without compensation; all denominations were required to recognize the new "People's Democratic" State. In addition many kindergartens, teacher training schools, girls' lycees, agricultural, industrial and trade schools were commandeered by the State. However, religious teaching was to remain a part of the standard school curriculum.

Resistance against Ortutay's four points was considerable and Cardinal Mindszenty issued four pastoral letters condemning them in May and June of 1948. Those who accepted nationalization of the schools were excommunicated by the Church. The anti-Church program was intensified by the Communists and terror instituted to obtain adoption of the four point program. The Hungarian Calvinist Church was finally forced to accept the State program against the objections of its leader, Bishop Laszlo Ravasz, who resigned as President of the Synod in protest. On June 16, 1948, the Hungarian Parliament endorsed the nationalization of the schools, and the first major step in the battle for the mind of youth went to the Communists.

The following schools were seized (only the most important school types are listed) and the numbers and denominations appear below:

Public Schools: (Grammar schools—6 years)

Catholic	1220
Calvinist	513
Lutheran	186
Greek Orthodox	14
Jewish	11

General Schools: (Grammar schools—8 years)

Catholic	1670
Calvinist	494
Lutheran	156
Other Protestant	51
Jewish	15

Polgari Schools: (Secondary schools—4 years)

Catholic	86
Protestant	15
Jewish	6

Gymnasia: (High schools—4 years)

Catholic	49
Calvinist	24
Lutheran	11
Jewish	4

This gave the Communists 70 percent of the public schools, 63 percent of the general schools, 27 percent of the Polgari schools, and 50.6 percent of the gymnasias.

In the struggle for the schools, Cardinal Mindszenty had been the outstanding leader of the opposition and the Communists therefore marked him for destruction. Moreover, the regime had just launched a drive for collectivization of farms and they feared the Cardinal's and the Church's influence would place additional obstacles between them and their goals. Aware of the deeply inbred religion of the people, the Communists still did not dare to attack the Church itself so they focused their press, radio and mass meeting offensive against the Primate. On December 26, 1948, the Cardinal was arrested and indicted for treason, espionage and illegal currency exchange. His treason allegedly was in an anti-State plot to restore the Hapsburg monarchy. After a mock trial, in which he "confessed" on all counts, the Cardinal was sentenced to death, but his sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. Before his arrest, however, he had said that he conducted no anti-State activities and that if in the future he should "confess" to any, it would be under duress.

The Year of Decision

As 1947 had seen the end of the political opposition, reduced by the "salami tactics" of the Communists (See May issue, pp. 43-47 and August issue, pp. 44-47), so 1948 was the year of decision in the conflict with the Church. Religious fraternities were banned, as were religious processions and pilgrimages; censorship and reduced circulation of the Catholic press was invoked; pastoral letters were seized; and oppressive measures were stepped up.

Simultaneously, the Communist government made offers to renew diplomatic relationships with the Vatican, but acceptance at that time would have meant disavowing Cardinal Mindszenty and the Apostolic See therefore refused.

The antireligious campaign was carried out on many fronts. Denominations were cut off from their Western counterparts by expulsion of the Papal Nuncio, Angelo Rotta, in the spring of 1945, by the expulsion late in 1947 of Father Fabian Flynn, head of the American Relief Mission, and other such isolating measures. Required visits to the Pope have been thwarted since mid-1948 when Catholic bishops were enjoined from leaving the country. Similarly, Vatican delegations are not permitted to enter the country and any attempt at reestablishing relations with the Vatican is regarded as treason against the State. The public and visible signs of religion were manifestly reduced. Roadside chapels and crucifixes were less frequent; religious feasts and festivals were cancelled; churches and shrines were requisitioned by the State for various secular functions. The Catholic peasant youth organization, *Kalot*, was disbanded, and all Catholic charity organizations were liquidated, as well as Church administered hospitals, orphanages and old age homes. In 1950, moreover, 67 clerical Orders were dissolved by government edict. Reli-

gious publishing houses and bookstores were brought under government control by banning more than 200 Church magazines. Only 2 Catholic and Protestant periodicals and 1 Jewish one were permitted to continue publication, and these are censored and appear in limited numbers of copies. Church libraries and valuable art treasures were requisitioned for State "Houses of Culture."

In 1949, a State Office for Church Affairs was founded, and it became the Communist organizational weapon against religion. All Church incomes were placed under its control. All Churches, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, had considerable properties and most of these were confiscated by the State. Total Church property exceeded one million Hungarian acres (one Hungarian acre equals 1.4 American acres). Certain episcopates and Orders (Benedictine, Cistercian and Premontre) also had large estates which were taken by the State. Conservative estimates indicate that approximately 900,000 acres of Church property, more than 90 percent of the total, was nationalized by the Communists and a large part of all other Church assets confiscated. Public buildings, liquid assets, stocks, and even Church-owned commercial enterprises were all confiscated without recompense. The compulsory religious taxes which comprised a considerable source of Church income were also placed under State control. Voluntary contributions were made almost impossible by increasing poverty and fear.

The campaign against the clergy continued undiminished. Arrests and imprisonments of priests and hierarchy took place and following the usual pattern of the pseudo-Catholic magazine *A Kereszt* (*The Cross*), accusations were levelled against them for aiding and abetting kulaks, spying for the Western imperialists and the Vatican, for demoralizing and miseducating youth, for blackmarket dealings and illegal currency operations, and for all sorts of anti-State plotting.

Splinter Groups

Early Communist attempts to create splinter groups in the clergy met with little success. But in 1949 many priests unwittingly joined the Priests' Peace Committees. Posing as the defenders of peace, the regime induced many clergymen to join and then used them as bait to lure others into the Committees. This approval of the "peace" movement was interpreted broadly as support for all State-sponsored programs and organizations. Because this "peace plea" has such genuine propaganda appeal, it has been one of the Communists' most successful splinter methods. The Communists have also tried to fractionalize the clergy by sponsoring "progressively" Catholic sects as opposition to the "reactionary" Catholic Church, but in this they have failed.

Employees of the State Office for Church Affairs took over episcopal seals, issued edicts and circulars in the names of the Bishops and without their consent. "Peace" priests were placed in high Church positions and filled episcopal posts of those who had resigned, been put under house arrest, imprisoned or executed. On August

30, 1950, the Catholic Bench of Bishops was forced to sign a Church-State agreement which essentially followed the four point Ortutay program. In theory the State thereby recognized the autonomy and independence of the Church, but in fact, the government subsequently violated every single part of the agreement. The Vatican refused to recognize the episcopal signature as legal. Further, the State insisted that the clergy take an oath of loyalty to the State and this too was carried through.

The following summer, in the Order of July 5, 1951, the Presidium decreed that in the future members of the episcopate could be appointed only after the Presidium had approved their qualifications. That same summer, another big anticlerical trial was staged on the same pattern as the Mindszenty trial and this time, Archbishop of Kalocsa, Jozsef Groesz, who had become head of the Bishop's Bench after Mindszenty's imprisonment, was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment.

The Protestant Churches

In the immediate postwar period, Catholic and Protestant Churches formed a united front against Communism. Subsequent to the 1947 coup, the Communist attack was directed toward splitting this unity and was launched against the Protestants as the more vulnerable Church in a series of forced "agreements" with the regime. This drive began in 1948, as did the anti-Catholic one, and on May 15 the government began negotiations for acceptance of the Ortutay four points (see above p.). The chief obstacle to agreement was Bishop Laszlo Ravasz, most prominent Protestant clergymen in Hungary. When the Protestant Churches accepted the Ortutay program over his opposition, he resigned from his position as head of the Synod, a position he had held for 30 years. "Agreement" was reached with the Calvinist Church on October 7 and with the Lutheran Church on December 14. It assured continuation of government subsidies in decreasing proportions, though for a considerable length of time, but nationalized almost all Church-sponsored schools. Of 1,117 Protestant schools, 8 were left and of 407 Lutheran ones, only 2.

Since Bishop Ravasz had to be replaced, the regime sponsored a candidate, Roland Kiss, but the Synod resisted and elected Janos Kardos. The authorities then invalidated the choice and demanded new elections. Again the Synod elected Kardos. Not until the fall of 1948 did the regime, by unrelenting terror, succeed in foisting the philo-Communist Kiss upon the Synod.

In September, the Communists also began to arrest Lutheran leaders. On October 1, Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordas was arrested on trumped up charges of illegal currency dealings and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Currency forgery accusations were a favorite Communist ruse to render impossible any foreign aid to denominations in Hungary from their coreligionists abroad. Deportations and arrests took their toll of oppositionist Protestant ministers and Protestant relief and welfare organizations were disbanded, their press censored and reduced in circulation by various discriminatory publishing practices.

Special Feature

Office for Church Affairs

In 1949, after the State Office for Church Affairs was founded, the government used it to appoint Protestant dignitaries hitherto elected by the Church elders or by members of the Synod. Now, the government sets up a "delegating committee" which, on orders from the State Office of Church Affairs, nominates the candidate to be elected.

Simultaneously, the regime found docile elements among the Protestant ministry who could be manipulated and intimidated and these were organized into groups similar to the "peace priests" in the Catholic Church. Protestant leaders were forced to join the "peace" movement and coerced or duped into attacking the "imperialists" and the "clerical reaction." Leading Communist and fellow-traveller elements were assigned to high church administrative positions, among them Minister of Agriculture, Ferenc Erdei, Minister of Education, Jozsef Darvas, and Deputy Minister of People's Culture, Erno Mihalyffy. Church activities were thus brought under the control of the State Office of Church Affairs.

Church autonomy was further impaired by the reorganization of Church districts. The Protestant Synod was forced to make revisions that reduced the districts in number and made them more easily controlled. New elections were held in 1951 in the revised districts and previously planted pro-regime people were elected to important Church positions.

On November 29, the Synod was forced to close down the two theological seminaries at Papa and Sarospatak, leaving only two others, at Debrecen and Budapest. A decree issued on November 29 again struck at the independence of the Protestant Church by stating that "Church personnel can be transferred in the interest of the Church even if during court procedure no fault of the clergyman or the Presbytery can be established." This made possible the transfer and removal of ministers who resisted regime incursions on the Church.

Smaller Protestant sections, Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Adventists, Christian Scientists, have been ruthlessly persecuted. Communal spirit is highly developed in these sects, and in two cases (Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses), their opposition to military service makes them particularly unpalatable to the Communists.

Minorities

More than three quarters of the Hungarian Jews were killed by the Nazis and in 1945 their number totalled 140,000. In 1950, the government created the "National Organization of Hungarian Jews" by a coerced combination of the three Jewish sects. A proto-Communist, Lajos Stockler, became head of the organization.

Since 1947 Zionist Jews have been subjected to severe persecution. Zionist leaders were arrested and sentenced to heavy prison terms. According to refugee reports, some 25,000 Jews have succeeded in leaving Hungary for Israel since 1945, but only 3,500 left with regime permission. Al-

together, more than 60,000 Jews have requested permission to leave the country, but emigration to Israel has now been completely halted.

The Uniate Church in Hungary is the only Greek Catholic church in the Danube Basin which has not as yet been forced into the Orthodox Church nor forcibly divorced from the Vatican.

In spite of all these regime measures and the constant and careful surveillance of those who continue to lead a religious life, church activity and religion in Hungary are still very much alive. Perhaps the best indication of this is a recent comment by one of Hungary's leading Communists, Marton Horvath, at a Party meeting on June 27, 1952, when he said: "It is shocking and unforgivable for members of the Party, the youth organization or the Armed Forces to participate in church activities—and yet, this still frequently occurs."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

According to a 1930 census, Czechoslovakia (consisting of the Czech lands—Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia—and Slovakia) was predominantly Roman Catholic, 73.5 percent, or 10 million of the country's 14 and a half million people belonging to that confession. Protestants were the second largest group, making up 13.06 percent. In Slovakia, Lutherans numbered 430,000; Calvinists 150,000. In the Czech lands, 330,000 former Lutherans and Calvinists after World War I joined the Union of Czech Brethren. Between 1918 and 1930, some 800,000 Catholics broke away from Rome (Catholicism in Czechoslovakia had been exploited under the Hapsburg Monarchy) and formed a new national Czechoslovak Church. They introduced reforms, changed the Church administration, used the national language in services and abolished the vow of celibacy. Although this Church is not Protestant in the usual sense (i.e., it has a Unitarian viewpoint and does not accept the doctrine of the divinity of Christ), it fell into that category of the Communist antireligious program and therefore will be dealt with in that group. Eastern Orthodox adherents, 3.97 percent, resided principally in Ruthenia which the USSR annexed in 1945. Most of the 2.42 percent Jews were liquidated under the Nazi regime. The remaining 7.01 percent were Protestants of minor denominations or non-denominational.

Roman Catholicism

The Catholic Church took an active part in prewar cultural, social and political life, and enjoyed autonomy from the State, which gave the Church freedom in the management of its seminaries, convents and parochial schools; made religious instruction in primary and grammar schools compulsory; and respected the marriage sacrament. Except for teachers' salaries paid by the State, national schools were financed locally in the Czech lands, and by the central government in Slovakia. 1,050 students attended 14 Catholic seminaries; two Catholic theological faculties existed at universities in Prague and Bratislava and a third

at Olomouc; three leading Catholic weeklies, *Rozsvac* (Olomouc), *Katolik* and *Nedele* (Prague) had a combined circulation of 600,000. The Catholic Church enjoyed considerable wealth, amounting in 1945 to some 787,930 acres and 248 buildings. Three Catholic parties were represented in the First Czechoslovak Republic (1930's): German Christian Socialist Party, Slovak People's Party, Czechoslovak People's Party. The latter was also included in the recent Third Republic. Catholic associations, trade unions, boy scout groups and welfare organizations flourished. A prominent charitable organization, *Charitas*, enjoyed substantial government aid and support from Catholics abroad. The *Orel*, a popular physical culture movement formed in 1896 by Catholic educational associations, was a member of the International Union of Catholic Physical Culture in Paris, and before the war had a membership of 130,000. Catholic hierarchy consisted of 3 Archbishops (the Czech Primate in Prague, the Moravian Metropolitan in Olomouc, and the Slovakian Metropolitan in Nitra, who died in 1945); the laity was further served by 10 bishops and 7,000 priests.

Pattern of Persecution

Under the coalition government, calculated benevolence toward the Catholic Church, in the form of occasional negotiations with the clergy, characterized Communist strategy in the early antireligious campaign. Thereafter, regime policy evolved into a pattern of four successive stages. Thus, the year 1948 was marked by suppression of Catholic propaganda media and influence on the one hand, and intensification of Communistic on the other. 1949 saw the formation of a schismatic "Catholic Action," while the official Catholic organization looked on helplessly, its resistance always defeated by redoubled Communist counter-efforts. Stage three, in November 1949, was the boldest of all: reformation of the Church's organizational and spiritual structure along State lines. This was made possible by the legal creation of a State Office for Church Affairs which bypassed Vatican authority and sanctioned the State's exclusive jurisdiction in religious matters. The regime was then free to manipulate the Church according to State policy, in fact free to act against the Church in its own name. By detailed implementation of the provisions of the law which created the State Office of Church Affairs, the government entered the fourth stage of creating the fiction of Church freedom to be exhibited to the non-Communist world. The November 1949 law which created this Office gave civil authorities radical new powers (e.g., the authority to appoint and remove priests; censor publications and sermons of the clergy); made the marriage sacrament without a corresponding civil ceremony a violation of the law; and deprived the Catholic body of traditional rights such as internal communication, recourse to the Vatican and proselytizing.

Stage one opened with the Land Reform Law of March 1948. Under this law confiscation of Church property aimed at making the Church solely dependent upon the State for support. On April 21, 1948, the law on education established the trend which suppression of religious instruc-

tion was to take. The traditional pattern of compulsory religious instruction was not to be broken by law, nor was its supervision to be taken from the Church. Rather, it could continue if it did not interfere with superior State authority over school administration. The law specifically directed appropriate officials to implement its provisions with ordinances, resolutions and decrees, clearly intending to bypass clerical authority and assert State authority in the matter of education.

Central Action Committee

"Scarce" newsprint allocated by the Ministry of Information forced Catholic publications *Rozsvac*, *Katolik* and *Nedele* out of business in 1948. *Katolik Noviny*, published in Prague and Bratislava, became a Communist organ. Non-religious and even non-Catholic presses were, at the same time, encouraged to promote atheistic propaganda and denounce "clerical anti-State activities." A newly created Central Action Committee was instrumental in suppressing Catholic organizations, preparing press attacks upon clergy and staging mass antireligious meetings. The Committee merged "unnecessary" Catholic youth organizations into the State-sponsored Union for Czech Youth.

American William J. Sullivan testifies to considerable regime obstruction in the vast refugee aid program co-sponsored at the close of World War II by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, New York, and *Charitas*, the Czechoslovak Catholic welfare organization. The government, says Sullivan, diverted shipments of goods from America to other countries, ousted *Charitas* head Mgr. Eduard Oliva, replaced him with a State choice, Mgr. Frantisek Fiala, and forced Sullivan to leave with his mission unaccomplished. Other Catholic organizations suspended by the Central Action Committee were: *Orel*, the Boy Scouts, and various women's organizations.

Catholic Action

Stage two, in the summer of 1949, was marked by the formation of a schismatic "Catholic Action." An intense Church-State battle ensued, which lasted well into fall and ended in a Communist triumph. Catholic Action was created with a few collaborationist priests, heavily subsidized, and a propaganda organ called the *Catholic Gazette*. The skeleton was considerably padded with the aid of existing State propaganda machinery and a well-organized police force. Clerical resistance was intensified, primarily expressed in the form of pastoral letters, ordinarily issued infrequently and in connection with holy days. The pastoral letters which appeared often during the summer of 1949 usually originated with Archbishop Beran and denounced each repressive government measure, outlined the clergy's stand on issues such as education and press curtailment and defined the hierarchy's position which was then being distorted in the Communist press. A June 15 pastoral letter stated that agreement between Church and State would require observance of the following principles:

1. That the Christian conception of society will be respected and allowed in the country's public life and education, in deed as well as word;

2. That the government will acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope as supreme head of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the jurisdiction of the Bishop, who is obedient to the Pope under Church order;

3. That all enactments which limit and endanger the religious freedom of Catholics in Czechoslovakia will be withdrawn."

A police raid of Archbishop Beran's palace on June 15 was the first in a series of stringent measures against his resistance. Beran's June 19 service was interrupted by a Communist demonstration and his confinement in his palace under guard followed. Communist officials thereafter confiscated his records and sent out notices on his stationery, using his episcopal seal. The Vatican promptly announced excommunication of those who participated in anti-Church activities, and genuine pastoral letters continued to circulate secretly. This did not go unnoticed by the regime, which issued three counter decrees on June 28. The first forbade the clergy to hold meetings without permission of the government; the second ruled that pastoral letters and other communications which were "arousing unrest among the public" must be submitted to State censorship before issuance; and the third declared that any punishment imposed by the Church for "political" reasons was invalid and that the State would support any priests so punished. By the end of the summer, over 300 clergymen had been imprisoned for violations in connection with this decree.

Catholic Action, an organization with an actual clerical membership of less than 1 percent in October, 1949 (8 Czech priests and 5 Slovak) had succeeded in its schismatic mission. Fear, insecurity and confusion among the clergy had replaced the formalized security of the highly organized Catholic apparatus. The parishioner was in effect separated from control by the priest, the priest from control by the bishop, and the bishop from control by the Vatican. The Church succeeded, however, in issuing a statement on September 9 in answer to the government announcement proposing the creation of a State Office of Church Affairs. Excerpts follow:

"With the consent of all the bishops, the whole clergy states that they do not accept the proposed new law . . . [which] aims to better the position of the clergy at the cost of their freedom and . . . [implies] that the church . . . would be satisfied in receiving compensation for its . . . property which it lost against its will. . . . A law such as this [which] threatens destructive sanctions even for small violations is at the most anti-social and unfair. . . ."

Control of Churches Bill

Government Act No. 218 "on the economic safeguarding of churches and religious societies by the State" passed without opposition and became law on November 1, 1949. Pertinent provisions follow:

Article 1: "According to the provisions of this law as hereinafter set forth the State grants personal emoluments to the clergy of Churches and religious societies



Ve znamení kříže.

Kresil L. Hass

Caption: "In the name of the Cross."
(The cross is made up of a blackjack and a test tube of plague.)
From *Dikobraz* (Prague), October 19, 1952

who function with the consent of the State in parochial or administrative posts or in institutions for the training of clergy. . . ."

Article 3: "Personal emoluments of the clergy consist of the following: the basic pay, extra pay according to rank, bonus for special work. . . ."

Article 5: "Clergy engaged in parochial duties are bound to give religious instruction in the schools without payment, unless religious instruction is otherwise provided for. The extent of this duty and its detailed arrangement will be established in agreement with the Minister of Education by a decree issued by the Minister in charge of the Office of State for Church Affairs."

Article 7: "Spiritual duties [preaching and the like] in Churches and religious associations may be fulfilled only by persons who have secured the consent of the State and have taken their oath. . . . Every appointment (selection, nomination) of such persons requires the previous consent of the State. Vacancies must be filled within 30 days. Failing this, the State may take such steps as are necessary to ensure the proper working of the parishes and administrative offices or the training of clergy."

Article 9: "Representatives of Churches and religious societies and administrators of Church property are in

duty bound to draw up budgets and balance sheets and to submit them to the Office of State for Church Affairs for approval . . .

Article 10: "The State supervises the property of the Churches and religious societies. Representatives of Churches and religious societies and administrators of Church property shall compile a list of all the . . . property and proprietary rights of Churches and religious societies . . . and shall, within three months from the date the present law becomes effective, present such list to the Office of State for Church Affairs. . . .

Article 12: "The State shall maintain establishments and institutions for the training of the clergy.

Article 13: "Any act contrary to or failure to comply with the provisions set forth in this law or the regulations issued in respect thereof shall . . . be punished by a District National Committee as a statutory offense with a maximum fine of 100,000 crowns . . . [or] by imprisonment up to six months.

Article 15: "This law becomes effective on November 1, 1949; it shall be implemented by all members of the government."

The focal point of persistent Catholic resistance in stage three centered on the oath of allegiance referred to in Article 7: "I promise fidelity to the People's Democratic order and swear to do nothing against its interests. I will do everything in my power to support [the government's] efforts. . . ." None of the Catholic hierarchy swore allegiance until 1951, but the bishops instructed priests to do so under the following conditional statement:

"I declare that I accept the newly arranged salary because it is decreed under a measure which became law. By accepting this salary, I do not assume any obligations which would violate my conscience as a priest nor the Church laws. I proclaim again that I prefer the spiritual interest of the Church and the unrestricted freedom of my priestly work to the material assurance of my existence."

Hromadka's Protestants

Exploiting traditional antagonism and jealousy between Protestantism and Catholicism, and exerting pressures analogous to those brought against the Catholic Church, the regime had cajoled Protestant churches into collaboration. Rev. F. L. Hromadka, formerly of the Union of Czech Brethren, served on the regime's Central Action Committee, and as early as 1947 had declared before the Czech Brethren gathering in Prague on December 8:

". . . [Today] . . . all problems of any material importance, be they spiritual and ecclesiastic, moral or cultural, are so closely linked up with political and social happenings that no one can escape being drawn into politics. Today none of us can claim to know religion or the tasks of theology well unless we pass through the red-hot furnace of political and social happenings that are shaking the world. . . . The Communists are the dynamic force of political and social changes. . . . That is why it is not only wrong but downright dangerous to set up any combination of forces without the Communists. . . ."

Other Protestant collaborators echoed Hromadka's support of the State. Patriarch Kovar, head of the Czech Church, declared on numerous occasions that the Communists were fighting the Catholic hierarchy only to protect the people from clerical oppression. F. Linhart, a colleague of Hromadka, was active in the formation of the Communist-sponsored Association of Christian Societies which published a declaration calling dialectical materialism an explanation of the teachings of Christ. At a regional conference of "patriotic" Protestant pastors in Bojnice, June 1950, more than 100 delegates voiced support of the regime in a resolution promising to "assist in the building up of Socialism, help in the fulfillment of the Five Year Plan, support the Stockholm Peace Resolution, cooperate with Protestants in other People's Democratic countries, with progressive Christianity in general and the Orthodox Church in particular, and condemn strongly the political aspirations of the Vatican."

State Office for Church Affairs

The State Office for Church Affairs played the leading role in a fourth stage concerned with implementation of the 1949 law. The office began its activities in 1950, reached a peak in 1951, and by mid-1952 was able to shift major responsibility back to the Central Action Committee, Catholic Action, and a newly created Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge. Broad powers of the State Office concerning education, the oath of allegiance, State appointments of clergy, and punishment for violators of the law were translated into real terms through decrees and coercive measures. Following expulsion on March 18, 1950 of the one remaining papal representative, Mgr. Ottavio de Liva, 1951 saw the appointment of political instructors in Catholic seminaries, the transfer of priests from their established dioceses to new and alien ones, isolation of Catholics from the Vatican through State censorship of pastoral letters and other communications, confiscation of monasteries and deportation or imprisonment of leading monks, replacement of imprisoned or dead priests with Communist collaborators, the non-replacement of others, forcing existing priests to serve parishes beyond their capacity, and imprisonment of leading priests who had not signed the oath of allegiance, who made "illegal" appointments, or who refused to fill their sermons with praises of the State urging the laity to join in the building of "Socialism."

An extended series of sensational trials of leading monks and priests, beginning in April 1950 and lasting through February 1951, shared the limelight with the State Office during stage four. The crucial issue, again, was the oath of allegiance and the trials served as threats in the State drive to collect signatures. Bishop Jan Vojtassak of Slovakia was sentenced to 24 years' imprisonment in a January 1951 trial; Bishop Michal Buzalka of Trnava was imprisoned for life by the same court; Bishop S. R. Tomasek of Olomouc was arrested September 6, 1951. Bishop Josef Hlouch of Budejovice was "removed" from office in early

1952 and a Communist successor named in his place; Bishop Skrabik of Banska Bystrica died in a labor camp.

The trials brought forth testimony against Archbishop Beran, who was banished from Prague on March 10, 1951 for his "proven anti-State attitude." Shortly thereafter, *Obrana Lidu* (Prague), March 15, 1951 gave the names of four bishops who swore allegiance to the state: Mgr. Picha (Kralovy Hradec); Mgr. Josef Carsky (Kosice); Mgr. Stepan Trochta (Litomerice); Ambroz Lazik (Trnava). *Rude Pravo* (Prague), April 12, 1951 reported that Mgr. Eduard Necsey (Nitra) was the last Slovakian bishop to swear allegiance. The remaining Archbishop, Josef Matocha (Olomouc), according to Radio Prague March 30, 1952, had attended a celebration of the installation of five canonics by the State Office. According to the April 4, 1951 issue of *Parallel Fifty*, a Communist organ published in Paris, the four capitulating bishops replied to a second declaration of excommunication by the Pope with the following statement: "We will not recognize the sanctions administered by the Church and we will not apply them to priests and laymen if they are imposed for political reasons."

A "National Catholic Church"

The natural trend in an antireligious state toward creation of a "State" or "National Catholic Church" is apparent in recent efforts of the Central Action Committee. The various peace meetings, election rallies, Socialist competitions and friendship month celebrations, to which only sympathetic priests formerly lent their support, are now being attended by the hierarchy as well. They are forced to join the Communist chorus of voices urging greater fulfillment of the economic plan, denouncing "imperialist germ warfare," the Vatican, "that instrument of the capitalists," and "saboteurs of collectivization." At a peace congress of the Catholic clergy in October 1951, Health Minister Plojhar spoke "in behalf of" the Catholics when he declared: "We Czech Catholics completely differ from the Vatican's present policy which fully serves world capitalism and imperialism and supports the crusade against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. . . . We have full right as Catholic priests to disagree with Vatican policy. . . ."

Radio Prague, March 27, 1952 reported: "Adding its voice to recent protests of Catholic clergy and laity, the Presidium of the Central Committee of Catholic Action of Czechoslovakia has appealed to Christians through the world to condemn the American imperialists' use of bacterial warfare. . . ."

The Communist regime in Czechoslovakia now openly admits that "religious superstition" is its principal foe. The "eradication of religious traditions" is to be accomplished through stepped up activities of Catholic Action (creation of further schismatic leadership sympathetic to the State), the Central Action Committee (dissemination of atheistic propaganda), and through the Czechoslovak Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge.

BALTICS:

Religious persecution in the Baltic countries is especially significant not only because it was the first example outside of Russia, but because it was ruthlessly carried out under the direct supervision of the USSR. In the brief span of one summer the Soviets incorporated every Baltic state into the USSR. Red armies entered in June 1940 and in July the Communists had seized governmental control. Puppet parliaments were granted "admission" into the USSR in mid-August and forthwith adopted models of the Soviet Constitution. Among the many legal pretexts by which the USSR thereafter exploited the area was the insertion of portions of Article 124, Chapter 10 of the parent Soviet document into each of the Baltic constitutions. Ironically, its language ensured freedom of religious worship, but also implied freedom of antireligious propaganda. Using this single provision as a fulcrum, the Communists have since confiscated Church property, banned religious organizations and the press, prohibited religious instruction, imposed taxes for performance of Church rites, and denounced religion and clergy alike in a widespread propaganda program. The extent to which Communism has pervaded religious life in the Baltic Countries may be vividly expressed in terms of pre-1940 religious influences in the three countries.

Lithuania

The dominant Church in Lithuania is Roman Catholic, which in 1940 represented approximately 80 percent, or 2,400,000 of the country's 3 million population. Its 1,202 Churches were served by 1,646 priests in 681 parishes organized in 2 archdioceses and 4 dioceses headed by 3 archbishops and 8 bishops. Various Catholic lay organizations, some of which received State appropriations for educational and charitable purposes, claimed a membership of 800,000. One-half of all high school and university students belonged to the *Ateitis* Youth Movement, founded in 1910, an organization prominent in religious and cultural life. Four of the seven most popular periodicals and newspapers were Catholic: *XX Amzius*, *Naujoji Romuva*, *Zidinys*, *Soter*. An average of three to four hundred new religious books appeared annually. State assistance to the Catholic Church in 1940 totaled 1,383,278 *litas* and the State provided free non-compulsory religious instruction in all public schools. Minor denominations (Reformed Evangelical Lutheran, 9.56%; Greek Orthodox, 2.34%; Jewish, 7.10%) worshipped in 51 Churches and chapels. The most important minority, Jewish, also had many publications, schools and societies, charitable and political organizations.

Estonia

In 1938, the Evangelical Lutheran Church embraced 896,915 of Estonia's 1,250,000 population. 214,307 were Greek Orthodox; 2,268 Roman Catholic; 4,536 Jewish; 15,877 of other faiths. 180 Lutheran congregations were served by 250 ministers, and in the case of large congregations, also by a considerable staff of qualified laymen. Tartu

University's Department of Theology consisted of 12 members. All Churches together owned 8,723 hectares of land.

Latvia

The chart below, based on 1938 statistics, shows Evangelical Lutheran to be the leading denomination in Latvia, whose population is 2 million.

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Adherents</i>	<i>Parishes</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Churches</i>
Evangelical Lutheran	1,094,787*	311*	280	—
Roman Catholic	476,963	172	187**	140
Greek Orthodox	174,389	153	100	—
Jewish	93,406	—	—	—
Old Believers***	107,195	—	—	—
Other	3,762	—	—	—

The extensive influence of religion upon Latvian life before 1940 is further evidenced by the publication of 37 religious magazines of a total 154 printed; Lutheran and Catholic theological faculties at the State University in Riga; Lutheran and Catholic seminaries; religious teaching in all schools; and the legal guarantee of religious freedom for a varied list of minorities: Anglican Episcopalian, Reformed Calvinist, Moravian and Evangelical Brethren, Episcopal-Methodist, Seventh Day Adventists, and Baptists.

Techniques of Assimilation

Assimilation of the Baltic Countries into the Soviet Union was effected by clearing away all traces of Baltic culture and imposing the new Soviet way of life. Two techniques were used: seizure or nationalization of schools, Churches, seminaries, libraries, publications, religious and cultural organizations; arrest, imprisonment, deportation and murder of cultured elements in the population. Further, relations with the outside world were cut off, and particular stress was laid on severing connections with the Vatican.

An MVD order in Lithuania stipulated that all organizations established before June 20, 1940 "jeopardized public security." The State thereupon took over property, archives, membership rosters and funds of all religious organizations. This nationalization of private property caused the expulsion of Marian, Jesuit and Franciscan friars from their premises. Confiscation of the religious press was aggravated by seizure of all stocks of religious books found in shops, printing offices and homes.

In Estonia, a joint order of the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist

* These figures include 61,047 belonging to the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, a separate organization with its own Synod and bishop. German Lutherans also claimed 49 of their own parishes included above and 1 theological faculty at Herden Institute in Riga.

** 1940 figure.

*** A branch of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

Party, published in Official Gazette No. 17, October 2, 1940, Article 192, nationalized lands belonging to Churches and religious associations. Confiscation went hand in hand with nationalization and evicted clergymen from their parishes, forced suspension of the religious press, and closed Tartu University's Department of Theology.

A nationalization law affecting all private property was promulgated in Latvia on July 23, 1940. The Baptist Seminary in Riga was expelled from its headquarters under this decree. Rent was charged by the State for the use of any Church which the regime had taken over. High taxes were imposed for the use of confiscated Church regalia and records, making confirmation and baptism virtually impossible. A special MVD authorization, costing 400 rubles and equal to an average monthly wage, was required for a Church wedding. Moreover, services outside the Church itself, such as those in cemeteries, schools or private homes were forbidden.

Decrees outlawing religious instruction were issued in all three countries and courses on Marxist theory were then introduced in the schools. In Lithuania priests were asked to sign the following form:

"I . . . sign the attached as evidence that I was informed on April . . . 1941 that I am strictly enjoined not to give religious instruction to school children . . . in Churches . . . or in the homes of children or in my own apartment or elsewhere. Thus I have no right whatsoever to talk to them about religious matters . . ."

Ten Commandments

Formal political instruction in the schools was supplemented by a barrage of atheistic propaganda which Baltic youth heard on the radio, in Communist youth organization meetings, at school celebrations of Communist anniversaries. A pamphlet circulated in Estonia, entitled "The Ten Commandments of Communism," was published by the Central Committee of the Komsomol, the Communist Youth Organization. The text follows:

1. Never forget that the clergy are the greatest enemies of the Communist state.
2. Try to convert your friends to Communism. Remember that Stalin, who has given a new Constitution to the Russian people, is the leader of the godless, not only in the USSR but in the whole world.
3. Advise your friends to avoid clergymen and Christians.
4. Beware of spies! Denounce saboteurs!
5. Distribute atheistic literature among the population.
6. A good Komsomol youth is a fighter for the cause of atheism. He must know how to use his weapons and harden himself in the art of war.
7. Fight the religious element wherever you can and prevent its influence on your comrade.
8. A good godless youth must also be a good policeman. It is the duty of every godless youth to defend the security of his country.

9. The godless movement grows also by means of monetary contributions which are indispensable for foreign propaganda, and which, owing to present conditions, can only work underground.

10. If you are not a convinced adherent of the godless movement, you cannot be a good Communist and Soviet citizen. Atheism is inseparable from Communism. Both these ideals form the foundation of Soviet power."

Mass Murder and Deportation

By June 1941 the Soviets had destroyed all organizations representing Baltic culture, had overwhelmed the population with atheistic and Socialistic propaganda, and had imposed a general state of terror. A widespread program of mass deportation and murder followed. Before their forced retreat from Nazi armies in late June, the USSR deported 65,000 Lithuanians, including 26 Roman Catholic priests; an additional 15 were murdered. In Latvia, 12 Evangelical Lutheran pastors were deported, 2 murdered; 37 Baptist ministers were deported; 4 Roman Catholic priests were deported, 7 murdered; 5 Greek Orthodox ministers were deported, 3 murdered. A total of 9,730 were deported from Estonia, and of these 15 Evangelical Lutheran pastors were included; 2 more were murdered, along with 24 Church Council members. 6 Greek Orthodox ministers were deported, 6 murdered.

The terror which characterized the last month of Soviet rule continued under Nazi occupation between 1941 and 1944. Arrest, murder and deportation were the Nazi's principal weapons against clergymen and the population as well, but no concerted campaign to eliminate religious life in regard to schools, associations, Churches and traditions was apparent during their tenure.

Postwar

Methodical attacks against the Church were resumed and intensified by the Soviets when they retook the Baltic countries in 1944. Since then all Churches have come under State administration; many are closed. The laity is discouraged from attending services by replacing Sundays and religious holidays (declared illegal) with compulsory Communist celebrations. Religious ceremonials are forbidden to Communist Party members and their families. Marxist theory has an established place in all school curricula, supplemented by an intensive antireligious propaganda campaign directed against the population as a whole.

Mass deportations and arrests affecting all segments of the Baltic population have continued both for religious and political purposes, but it is impossible to give exact figures on the number of people involved nor is it possible to distinguish clearly the purposes of each wave of persecution. Exile researchers, by comparing 1939 census figures with such available data as the number of ballots cast in recent elections, have corroborated a number of reliable refugee reports, and some estimates can be made. In the first big postwar deportation, approximately 50,000 Latvians—mostly males from 16 to 60 years of age—were included. A second mass deportation took place in Estonia and Latvia in March 1949. It is estimated that at that

time 80,000 Estonians and 70,000 Latvians were removed. In May 1948, 100,000 Lithuanians suffered the same fate and are included in estimates numbering 550,000 for the entire period 1945-1949—a total of six deportation cycles. Only 30 of Estonia's 250 Lutheran clergymen are still on their native soil; less than 340 Catholic priests are left of Lithuania's former 1600. Almost half of Latvia's 279 Lutheran pastors have escaped to the West; of the remainder, it is known that 21 were deported and 4 killed during the two Soviet occupations, and it is estimated that only about 30 percent still reside in Latvia.

POLAND:

For centuries religion has been an essential part of Poland's history and culture and the conflict of the Roman Catholic Church and the Communist State in modern times can be understood only in those terms. The Church's interpenetration of the life of the Polish community created specific problems in the Stalinist treatment of it. Moreover, the conflict can be truly comprehended only if the nationalist nature of Polish Catholicism is taken for granted. Because Poland is almost completely Catholic (some 96 percent), the Communists were unable to assail the Church openly. Communist attack was made even more difficult because both clergy and Church had been anti-Nazi, part of the resistance movement, and therefore popular with the people.

Nevertheless, the battle was undertaken between the sickle and the crozier in Poland and it falls into two stages. From 1945 to 1948 there was a period of relative calm and quiet, with the Communists proceeding cautiously while they consolidated their political gains. From 1948 to the present, a new era of State-Church struggle was launched which is as yet unresolved. The campaign began slowly and the first step was revocation of the Concordat on September 2, 1945. Press attacks against the clergy and the Catholic Church's welfare organization, *Caritas*, were invoked but not yet as a concerted campaign. Only when the Communists felt secure in their control of the governmental machinery did they attempt to disrupt the clerical machinery and that was in 1949. The following chronology gives an indication of how rapidly the attack grew:

August 5, 1949—government decree published safeguarding freedom of creed and conscience.

August 11, 1949—government requisitioned all birth records from parish churches.

August 18, 1949—intensive anti-Papal campaign begun in the Communist press.

September 21, 1949—Church hospitals nationalized under Ministry of Health.

November 23, 1949—bulletin of the Minister of Public Administration imposes serious limitations on public worship.

January 23, 1950—Catholic charity organization, *Caritas*, taken over in sudden government confiscation.

March 20, 1950—confiscation of 375,000 acres of Church property.

From August 1949 to April 1950, press vilification of the clergy continued to increase in intensity. Charges of collaboration with the Nazis, espionage, bribery, immorality were alternated with accusations of clerical alliance with reactionary elements internally and imperialist elements externally.

In the interim the Communists had not been idle on the Trojan Horse front. A "patriotic priest" organization and a lay organization of "progressive Catholics" had been called into being, their purposes to split clergy from episcopate, flock from Church, and simultaneously to create cadres for a new "people's clergy." By using elements from the Polish Army's Chaplain Corps, the regime mobilized the so-called "Commission of Priests" attached to the Union of Defenders of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy. These "patriot priests" were accorded special privileges by the regime in the way of finances, tax exemptions, confiscations of property, etc. Also, as early as June, 1946, the Communists had sponsored and propagated a "National Catholic Church" as a diversionary effort. Neither attempt at creating schism within the Church succeeded, however.

The April Agreement

After the abrogation of the Concordat in 1945, the government and the episcopate conducted prolonged negotiations for an agreement to regulate Church-State relations. These negotiations began and continued for four years before they finally resulted in an agreement signed on April 14, 1950 by the bishops and the State Department of Religious Affairs. On paper the Communists had made a number of concessions and the agreement received the support of all the bishops. Under this new arrangement, the Church agreed: (The April 22 episcopal statement on this agreement issued at a conference in Gniezno contained the complete text.)

- a. to teach respect for the State's law and authority among the faithful
- b. to reprove anti-government activities
- c. not to oppose the government program of collectivization
- d. to ask the Vatican for recognition of Poland's claims to the so-called "Recovered" or "Western" territories, which had been ceded to Poland by East Germany
- e. to imbue the faithful with sentiments of brotherly love and peace.

For its part, the government:

- a. assured religious instruction in the schools
- b. agreed to the maintenance of Catholic schools, religious ministration in the Armies, hospitals and prisons
- c. conceded the right of the Church to conduct charitable works

d. agreed to recognize the right to publish Catholic periodicals

e. conceded that the Pope is the decisive and highest authority in matters of canon, faith and morality.

The innocuous final point of the episcopate's concessions provided the Communists with the pretext for breaking the agreement. The regime asked the Church to support the Stockholm Peace Appeal and the Church refused. The Communists then insisted that the episcopacy had abrogated the agreement by not working "for peace" and proceeded to intensify their antireligious persecutions. Under regime pounding the Church capitulated and agreed to sign the Stockholm Appeal, but the Communists remained unapleased. Many Catholic schools were closed; a hostile press campaign was invoked against both the episcopate and the Vatican; antireligious propaganda was stepped up; the Catholic press was hamstrung by censorship and discrimination in newsprint allocation was used against its wide circulation. All these aggressive activities, of course, were directed at the central problem which the Stalinist regime wanted to solve: the problem of the Western territories.

The Western Territories

One of the thorniest problems facing the Polish Church was that of the territories acquired from Germany after the war. Here were dioceses to which the Pope refused to appoint bishops, since Vatican policy has been not to create permanent bishoprics pending peace treaties and final disposition of territorial rights and claims. It was the Vatican refusal (point four in the April State-Church agreement) which actually was the Communists' chief concern. An apostolic administration for the Western territories had been created by the late Cardinal Hlond, but it was a provisional arrangement. The Communists wanted permanent authorities installed, particularly after the signing of the Zgorzeled Agreement between Poland and East Germany on July 6, 1950, as a sign of the Vatican's recognition of the revised territorial rearrangements. On October 23, 1950, an ultimatum was sent to the Polish hierarchy in which the regime stated that the provisional Church administration in the Western territories could no longer be tolerated. A campaign of oppressive action, mass meetings, and press invective followed and on January 26, 1951, the regime issued a decree liquidating the temporary Church administration and removing the priests who acted as apostolic administrators. Immediately, to avoid the possibilities of schism, the Church itself, according to canon law, elected its own diocesan administrators, capitular vicars, to function in these territories, and Archbishop Stefan Wyszyński (now Cardinal) immediately confirmed the appointments. In May, 1952, Primate Wyszyński granted bishops' privileges to the capitular vicars of two of the dioceses, and established a curiae in Wrocław. This problem of the Church administration in the Western territories was the main object of regime attacks on hierarchy and Apostolic See, and the stabilization of Church administration there was the best possible reply to Com-

unist attack. In this issue the Communists have cleverly exploited Polish nationalist feeling, which overwhelmingly wishes to retain the Western territories, by accusing the Vatican of pro-German sentiments, thereby attempting to create a schism between the Polish Catholics and the Apostolic See.

The numerical strength and the constancy of Polish Catholics has prevented the Communist antireligious program from being fulfilled as quickly in Poland as it has been elsewhere. Although curtailment of Church activity has been significant, there is still religious teaching in the schools (but the Communists are developing a parallel completely secularized school system run by the Communist Association of Children's Friends [the TPD]); the Polish Church has not been dispossessed; there are still theological faculties and seminaries; clerical press, encumbered and censored though it is, still exists and is circulated. A Catholic University is open; pastoral letters can be read from the pulpit; bishops may visit their dioceses; and there is no loyalty oath for clergy (there is one, however, for newly appointed bishops and vicars capitular) as there is in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Moreover, the campaign against the Church in Poland has had a minimal amount of the large-scale arrests, murders and deportations which have characterized other Communist persecutions.

Minorities

Following World War II, the eastern territories of Poland, inhabited mostly by Uniates of Ukrainian origin, were incorporated into the Soviet Union. There the Uniate Church was liquidated and brought under the Moscow Patriarch of the Orthodox Church. Those Uniates who remained in western Poland have received support from Roman Catholic laity and clergy.

Also after the war, the greater part of the Polish Orthodox Church, located in the Eastern territories, was incorporated into the Russian Orthodox community under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarch. Some 50,000 Orthodox adherents remained in Poland and there was fear that these would also be incorporated. However, the Communists decided to develop the Orthodox Church in Poland as a separate unit while placing it under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarch. At present there are in Poland one Metropolitan See in Warsaw and four bishoprics in Bialystok, Lodz, Wroclaw and Gdansk.

Until 1948, Dionizy was the head of the Orthodox Metropolitan See in Warsaw. After several invitations to come to Moscow, which he put off because of ill health and advanced age, he was refused confirmation of his rights by the Polish Communist regime, and his functions were temporarily transferred to a provisional collegium headed by Archbishop Timothy. In 1948, the philo-Communist collegium addressed a petition to the Moscow Patriarch to have him declare the Polish Church autonomous on a new basis (rescinding the 1924 autonomy), and reject Metropolitan Dionizy and all religious and lay supporters. The Patriarch of Moscow and the Synod of Russian bishops thereupon granted both requests. Metropolitan Dionizy



From *Contemporanul* (Bucharest), July 11, 1952

Truman: (swinging a censer labelled bubonic plague) "Pax vobiscum . . ." (Peace be with you.)

agreed to make penance in the presence of Patriarch Alexei in Moscow and did so. The Patriarch accepted Dionizy's repentance, removed all Church interdictions against him, and restored to him the title of Metropolitan *ad personam*, but without the right to use the "unlawfully" assumed title of *Blazenniejszyj* [Russian for Most Venerable, a title used only for the head of an independent church]. This decision left the Polish Orthodox Church leaderless. In 1951, a Synod of Polish Orthodox Bishops was called in Warsaw to elect a new head. The Synod found no worthy candidate and asked the Moscow Patriarch to choose a suitable person from the Russian hierarchy.

The new Metropolitan appointed was Archbishop Makary, long an adherent of the Moscow Patriarch. In the years 1946 and 1947 he had rendered the Russian Church valuable service in liquidating the Uniate Church. This move of ostensibly granting the Polish Church autonomy, and actually incorporating and subordinating it to the Russian Orthodox Church, was a shrewd way of gaining actual control but still leaving the fiction of autonomy for the public and the West to see.

After 1945 Protestant denominations in Poland had a total membership of some 330,000, mainly of the Evangelic Augsburg sect (250,000). Protestants shared the same difficulties other religious groups encountered under the Communists. After 1945, Professor Jan Szeruda had been acting bishop and in 1950 he was confirmed by the Synod as Bishop of the Augsburg Evangelical Church. President Bierut refused to confirm his nomination because Szeruda "was not sufficiently positive in his approach to the problems of the State." The Synod therefore called a new meeting and proposed another candidate, Reverend Kotula, to whom Bierut could find no objection. Nevertheless, he was not confirmed and the regime issued an official statement that no candidate would be acknowledged as head of Polish Protestantism. Since the rules require acknowledgment by the head of the Polish State, the Protestants cannot elect a bishop.

Jews in Poland now number only some 40-50,000, most of them in the larger cities of Lodz, Warsaw, Wroclaw and Walbrzych. Their communities have been restricted in religious activities, their social work forbidden, their schools and rabbinical seminaries closed. Jewish religious holidays are not respected and only one Jewish paper is left in Poland, a pro-Communist one called *Volksstimme*. Jewish emigration, as in all Satellite countries, has been stopped.

ROMANIA:

Persecution of religion in Romania proceeded with dispatch and with extraordinary success after the Communists consolidated their control of the governmental apparatus in 1946. Since then, the regime has brought all the organized Churches under State control although it has as yet been unable to root religion out of the lives of the people. The following chart compiled on the basis of the 1948 census gives an estimate of the various religious denominations in the country and also gives some idea of the magnitude of Communist repression.

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>National Origin*</u>	<u>Adherents</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Eastern Orthodox	Romanian . .	11,500,000	72
Greek Catholic (Uniate)	Romanian . .	1,600,000	10
Roman Catholic	Hungarian		
	German . . .	1,050,000	7
Calvinist	Hungarian . .	730,000	4.6
Evangelical Lutheran	German . . .	250,000	1.6
Unitarian	Hungarian . .	75,000	0.4
Baptist	Romanian . .	120,000	0.7
Adventist	Romanian . .	60,000	0.3
Lipovan	Russian . . .	30,000	0.1
Jewish		372,000	2.3
Moslem	Turks, Tartars	10,000	—

The Orthodox Church

The Romanian Orthodox Church has long been a unifying force in the life of Romania and identified with the Romanian State much as the Church of England is identified with the British State. Moreover, historically, it has been a nub of resistance to foreign aggressors who in the past have included Russians, Germans, Turks, Greeks, etc. Because of the large number of Orthodox faithful (more than 70 percent of the population) and because of the wealth and influence of the Church, it was a prime target for the Communist antireligious campaign. Most important, the Communists saw the possibility of converting the Church and its clergy into an instrument for propagating Communism and controlling the population. The campaign instituted against Orthodoxy therefore moved for the subjugation of the Orthodox Church toward those ends.

In spite of a publicly declared benevolence, the regime led by Petru Groza attempted its first step: control of the

* As in most parts of Eastern Europe, religion coincides with national origin. For example, in Romania, Lutherans are generally German-speaking, Calvinists Hungarian-speaking, etc.

clergy through a "Union of Democratic Priests" led by the then Minister of Cults, Father Burducea. When this gambit failed, more drastic measures were taken. In 1947, two laws were passed by Parliament—one for pensioning priests and the second for redistributing sees and promulgating new rules for episcopal assemblies—which permitted the Communists to replace recalcitrant clergy with their own adherents. Over 30 percent of parish priests in towns and villages were thus dismissed from their parishes. The new rules for episcopal assemblies paved the way for election of three new "People's Metropolitans" and in 1948, after the death of Patriarch Nicodemus, his replacement with a Communist partisan, Patriarch Justinian Marina. As *Universul* (Bucharest) of August 28, 1948 phrased it:

"The guidance of the country's destinies having been taken up by the hands of the working class and of democratic organizations, special attention is being given to the renewal of the high cadres of the Church. This was evidenced by the elections which took place in November 1947, when three hierarchs of the people entered the Synod. This concern of the working class for the destinies of the Church culminated on May 24, 1948, when the new Patriarch of the Romanian People's Republic was elected in the person of His Holiness Justinian."

Justinian has been used by the Communists to bring the Orthodox ecclesiastical organization into line, to further eliminate anti-Communist clergy and hierarchy, and to orient the people's sympathy toward the regime. Because the Orthodox Church was traditionally a national Church, the Communists have attempted to use it as the Soviet Union has used its Orthodox Church, as a handmaiden of Stalinism.

The Greek Catholics

The second largest denomination in Romania was the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church, located chiefly in Western Romania. Of some eight and a half million Uniates, more than six million lived in Romania and in the eastern provinces of the pre-1939 Republic of Poland, now incorporated into the Soviet Union. According to the 1938 figures, there were 1725 Greek Catholic churches, served by 1594 priests, 34 canons and 75 prelates. The Uniate Church's differences with the Roman Catholic are ritual rather than theological—they use the Greek rite instead of the Latin liturgy and their priesthood does not take the vow of celibacy—and they recognize the doctrinal authority of the Vatican. Since 1698, this Church has played an important role in the religion, culture and politics of Romania.

Its wealth, its connections with Rome and the West, and its Greek rite made the Greek Catholic Church an important Communist target, and the campaign of its suppression was carried through with ruthlessness and violence. The first part of the campaign was propaganda addressed to the Greek Catholics to desert the Vatican and join their "brothers in Orthodoxy." The Orthodox Patriarch Justinian addressed the Uniates in June 1948 as follows:

"What separates us at this time? Nothing but the faithful submission you still give to Rome. Give back this loyalty to the Church of our nation, the Church of our forefathers and of yours.

"The energies we have all spent up till now in defending the national and religious identity of our nation let us henceforth spread—under the paternal protection of the Romanian State, of the People's Republic of Romania—only in consolidating the sovereignty and the national independence of our democratic state."

This campaign of "persuasion" began in May, 1948 and led to the Congress of Cluj in October of that year. Following the Congress of Cluj, the second phase of crushing the Greek Catholic Church ensued.

During the "persuasion" campaign, the Uniate episcopate had attempted to present its point of view concerning the Communist drive to absorb their church in the Orthodox Church, but had been prevented from doing so by police and administrative censorship. When the State authorities began preparations for the Cluj Congress, whose avowed purpose was the return of the Uniates to the Orthodox Church, a systematic terror was invoked conducted by the *Sigurantza* (the State Security Police). Two churchmen were to represent each district at the Congress and members of the Uniate clergy were asked to sign blank designations of delegates. Threats, intimidation, imprisonment, deportation, and even murder were used to obtain the signed blanks.

On October 1, 1948, the Congress of Cluj was convened and 38 prelates, canons and priests who had been "elected" to represent the Greek Catholic Church met, and according to *Universul*, October 15, 1948, accepted "unanimously and with great enthusiasm . . . the re-entry into the bosom of the Romanian Orthodox Church and the definitive severance of the ties with Papal Rome."

The Greek Catholic Clergy resisted, the Papal Nuncio protested, but the Communists intensified their persecution and resorted to mass arrests. The Ministry of Cults announced that Greek Catholic clergymen would receive their salaries when they embraced the Orthodox Church. Uniate churches were closed and handed over to the Orthodox Church. In December, 1948, the *de jure* existence of the Romanian Uniate Church was declared null and void by Decree No. 358 of the Presidium of the Grand Assembly and the Uniate Church was officially liquidated.

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church in Romania numbers well over a million adherents, mostly of German and Hungarian descent and living principally in the Transylvania and Banat areas. Their Church included some 683 parsonages, some 800 secular clergy and over 250 regular clergy. Because of the international character of the Roman Church and its closely-knit organization, it too became an object of attack for the Communist regime. The assault on it began in 1947 with a propaganda campaign that gained in scope and intensity as time went on. Following the

propaganda "artillery," four important "infantry" measures were taken against the Church with a view to paralyzing its functions and weakening its powers. First, a program of dismissal of priests was inaugurated; second, a program of closing down schools and institutions, combined with confiscation of Church property and suppression of clerical newspapers, was put into effect; third, large scale arrests of priests and their trials for sabotage and espionage on trumped-up charges were carried on; and fourth, an attempt was made to organize a "National Catholic Church" separating the Church from the Apostolic See and from clerics loyal to the Pope. These four steps were carried out coordinately with the intensifying propaganda campaign as part of a total plan to eliminate the Roman Catholic Church from the life of Romania.

In July, 1948, the Communists with Decree No. 151 revoked the Concordat with the Vatican which had been in force since 1929. With this unilateral abrogation, the propaganda denunciation of the Vatican became more violent and abusive. The Communists emphasized this "liberating action" as a blow struck against the alleged interferences of the Apostolic See in the internal affairs of other countries. As the Communist cat's paw, the Orthodox Patriarch Justinian, put it in August 1948: "The political interests pursued by the Vatican are alien to the very spirit of our Christian faith. Hence the patriarchs and representatives of all Orthodox churches hailed with joy the Romanian government's decision to eliminate completely the possibility of the Vatican's interference in the internal concerns of the Romanian Popular Republic."

In that same month, another decree was passed introducing new status for all religious cults and to which all faiths were required to adhere. The Roman Catholics, as well as the heads of other denominations, refused to abide by the decree and the regime removed all Roman Catholic bishops except Mgr. Marton Aron of Alba Iulia and Mgr. Anton Durcovici of Iassy. By June 1949, however, they too had been arrested and only one bishop, the 80-year-old Mgr. Augustin Pacha (subsequently condemned to forced labor on the Danube-Black Sea Canal), was left. According to a Vatican estimate, no less than 600 priests and members of religious orders had been arrested by the Communists (*Le Figaro*, July 2/3, 1949). Within the space of two years, the whole Latin episcopate had been arrested, dismissed, or interned, so that the Church was left without a functioning hierarchy, its ability to resist the Communists critically impaired.

After the bishops had been eliminated, the regime concentrated on the schools, religious orders and the internal organization of the Church. The Law on Cults (August 3, 1948) not only eliminated the Church from the field of education, depriving Catholics of all their schools, but simultaneously provided for new principles of ecclesiastical organization which subjected the Church to control of the State even in specifically religious matters. A further decree, in November 1948, nationalized the private health institutions and eliminated the Church from the field of health care. The Decree, entitled "Assembling of Religious



СВЕТИЯ ОТЕЦ*
Caption: The Saintly Father
From *Trud* (Sofia), September 26, 1952

Orders," issued by the Council of Ministers on July 29, 1949, was used to dissolve and suppress the various religious orders such as Notre Dame de Sion and St. Vincent de Paul. In the interim, attacks on Mgr. Gerald O'Hara, the Papal Nuncio, were increased until he was implicated in a spy trial and forced to leave the country in July, 1950.

The Targul-Mures Congress

Having weakened the Church structure and virtually eliminated its leadership, the Communists then concentrated on creating a national schismatic church. On April 27, 1950, at Targul-Mures, a "National Catholic Church" was created under the leadership of cleric Andreas Agotha. Agotha was promptly excommunicated by the Vatican. The Targul-Mures Congress brought pressure to bear on the clergy to sign the Stockholm Appeal for Peace and to agree to work for "the enrollment of the Latin Catholic Church within the Romanian People's Republic" in a so-called "Catholic Committee of Action." The government was aware that it required some ecclesiastical cooperation to make its program succeed, but none of the ecclesiastics cooperated. Few Catholics joined the "national" church and arrests, deportations and persecutions multiplied. Mgr. Max Glaser, assistant Bishop of Iassy, ordered all his priests to read publicly in their churches on Ascension Day (May

18) a declaration pronouncing the Targul-Mures Congress a Communist Front. He prohibited adherence to it and also made signing the Stockholm Peace Appeal inadmissible. Mgr. Glaser was arrested and died of heart failure on May 25, 1950.

On July 4, 1950, a Statute was issued giving the Pope "supreme ecclesiastical authority on questions of faith, morals, dogmas and spiritual jurisdiction," but all other clerical rights were made subject to State law. Creation and modification of ecclesiastical constituencies, nomination of bishops, organization of religious congregations, meetings between clergy and bishops, direction of seminaries, administration of church property, all required specific and indispensable approval of the government. In addition, the Decree established that the bishops were to have no relations with the Vatican except through the intermediary of the Ministry of Cults and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which disposition effectively prevented freedom of communication.

But the Targul-Mures Congress was not quite satisfactory to the Communists so another Congress was held on September 6, 1950, at Gheorgheni in Transylvania for all "peaceloving priests and laics." The meeting was presided over by philocommunist Andreas Agotha and a Statute was accepted which created a "National Church without any connections to the Holy See."

The Cluj Congress

All this and a vast propaganda campaign cleared the way for a government-sponsored meeting of the "Romanian National Catholic Church" held at Cluj on March 14, 1951. At this meeting, 225 clerical and lay delegates set up a so-called "Roman Catholic Council" of 27 members. This council took over the administration of all Roman Catholic properties in the country. Also, its "Final Resolution" was formulated as follows:

"... We ask to collaborate with the authorities of the Popular Republic according to the principles laid down in the Statute project for the organization, direction and functioning of the Roman Catholic Cult in the Popular Romanian Republic."

The regime was generous with those who signed this declaration, paying them salaries and even subsidizing certain ecclesiastical works. Recalcitrants were treated severely, some intimidated, others arrested. The Communists then proceeded to appoint to all key positions such ecclesiastics who were favorably disposed to the government and prepared to make compromises. The regime hoped that the Church and its adherents would inevitably follow, unaware of exactly what was happening, and uncertain about which priests were "peace" priests and which their own.

In Romania, it is evident that the Communists are not especially interested in separating Church from State, howsoever often they use this as a pretext for their actions. On the contrary, they are most interested in maximum State interference in Church affairs in order to gain control over them. The goal set for the Roman Catholic

Special Feature

Church by Romanian Communists is its transformation into a pseudo-Catholic church, independent of Rome, and divorced from its episcopate and the Vatican.

Throughout their antireligious campaign, indirect methods have accompanied the more direct techniques of confiscation, legislation and terror. Obligatory attendance at political, administrative or cultural meetings is required on Sunday mornings to interfere with Church attendance. Cuts in electric power are directed against frequented churches. Deliberate shortages are created in articles necessary for the Mass, such as prayer books, vestments and candles. Religious festivals, such as the Feast of the Blessed Virgin, the Feast of the Martyrs, the Epiphany on January 6, are suppressed and participation in religious ceremonies such as baptism, confirmation, and church marriage, where not specifically forbidden, is made the object of intimidation.

The attitude of the Communists toward the Catholic Church can be seen in clear summary, both in meaning and in feeling tone, in a poem called "The Song of the Catholic Missionary," published in *Flacara* (Bucharest), June 25, 1949:

"I say unto you, 'Peace to you,' and I enter the city
With a machine-gun hidden in my bag
And with a cross in my right hand....
I say unto you, 'Peace to you! Strike out at sin
Alongside our American brethren engaged in the great
crusade.
What matter if they command?
What matter if some of you must fall?
It is a law God-given to this world:
Some with deed and sacrifice,
Others with dollars and the Word.'
There!
I have unmasked for you the Catholic missionary.
Behold his words, Comrades.
Comrades, wherever you may meet him,
Spit him in the eyes
As you would a slobbering, honeyed beast.
And let your hands grip deep his throat,
And, wordless, smite him to the ground!"

Minority Groups

The Communists have persecuted Protestant, Moslem and Jewish religious groups as well but because these constitute such a small proportion of the total population and wield relatively little influence, their suppression has received little publicity. The Protestant Bishop of Sibiu, Rev. Staeder, was arrested and replaced by a regime appointed minister, but he was subsequently able to escape to Munich. A great part of the German Protestant minority was deported to the USSR. In December 1950, the regime approved Statutes for the organization and function of the Baptist, Adventist, Unitarian and Calvinist Churches. These denominations had previously been forced to undertake to work "exclusively on behalf of the prosperity of the Romanian People's Republic." They were now forced to have no relations with foreign countries that "might endanger the existence of the State, the interests of the people

and the democratic structure of the Romanian People's Republic." They also promised to take immediate and stringent measures against members of their clergy who used religion to the prejudice of the State.

Most of the religious leaders of the Moslem minority, which resides primarily in the province of Dobrogea, have been arrested for refusing to obey the new status for religious cults. Best known among those arrested is Muedin Abdul-Hamid, now in Aiud Prison.

Zionist Jews have been regarded as enemies of the RPR regime, and the recent campaign against "cosmopolitanism," "bourgeois internationalism" and "Zionism" has become a wholly anti-Semitic campaign. Some Jews, after confiscation of all their properties, had been permitted to emigrate to Israel, but emigration has now been reduced to a trickle. In fact, no new emigration visas have been issued for Zionist Jews since March, 1952. Two Zionist leaders, Marco Benveniste and Jacques Kummer, have both been arrested and indicted for alleged collaboration with Western intelligence services.

To control the Jewish community, the RPR regime has sponsored a "Committee of Democratic Jews," (known as the CDE or *Comitetul Democratic Evreesc*), but the Jewish community at large has remained militantly anti-Communist, and Romanian prisons and concentration camps are filled with Jews who have resisted RPR edicts. Romanian Jewry is comprised of two groups: Germanic and Sephardic. They have had separate synagogues and communities in the past but the CDE has recently merged them under a single administrative committee, probably to make supervision and control easier for the regime. Jewish community houses have been closed as have schools where Yiddish, the Old Testament and the Talmud were taught. Difficulties have been put in the way of celebrating Jewish Holy Days and in the way of abiding by the ritual laws of koshering. All Jewish charitable institutions have been nationalized, including hospitals, kindergartens, poorhouses, and homes of the aged.

The CDE's publicity organ is the violently anti-Zionist weekly *Viata Noua* (*New Life*) which pictures Israel as a hell of poverty and deprivation and promotes only "Stalin, the Great Protector of Working Jews."

Jews in Romania are caught between two fires. On the one hand they are persecuted by the State, which accuses them of nationalist and Zionist sentiments, and on the other they bear the resentment of anti-Semitic groups who blame all their ills on the Jews. Refugee reports indicate that the removal of Ana Pauker and other Jewish leaders from the Romanian Politburo (possibly another manifestation of anti-Semitism) was welcomed with "indescribable relief" by the Romanian Jewish community.

BULGARIA:

The Communist campaigns against religion in Bulgaria and Romania, where Eastern Orthodoxy represents the confession of the overwhelming majority of the population, differ considerably from those instituted in the predomi-

nantly Roman Catholic countries. In Bulgaria, where 6 million of a total population of 7 million are adherents of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (some 87 per cent) and there are some 2,500 priests and almost 4,000 churches in addition, the Orthodox Church was the major religious objective of the Communists. Immediately after the coup d'état of September 9, 1944, the Bulgarian Communist Party, although still only part of a Fatherland Front coalition government, but with the security police under its control, began persecution of the rank and file of the Orthodox clergy. With the return of Georgi Dimitrov from the USSR and the Communist assumption of complete control in December, 1947, the plan was carried out even more systematically. Dimitrov's steps against the Church were in the Soviet Pattern and with a similar purpose: to make the Bulgarian Orthodox Church the instrument of State policy as Stalin had done with the Russian Orthodox Church.

The steps followed were familiar. First, Church property was expropriated and the Church made financially dependent on the good will of its greatest opponent: the State. Secular indoctrination of youth was intensified and the schools removed from the control of the Church. Theological institutes were eliminated, with one exception in Plovdiv, so that a shortage of priests was deliberately created. All religious publications were brought under strict regime censorship. According to paragraph 16 of the Government Ecclesiastical Ordinance, all religious groups must submit messages, instructions, pastoral letters, and publications to the State's Department of Religious Confessions and Cults. All welfare organizations were nationalized and put under the control and supervision of the Ministry of Health. Churches were gradually taken over by military and municipal authorities and put to other, secular uses. All religious matters were also made subject to the Department of Religious Confessions and Cults. In addition, close supervision of the clergy was instituted under the Department of State Security (police).

Exarch Stephan and the Synod

But these were in a sense only flank attacks. The main attacks were directed against the Church organization itself. In order to build a Church which would be an instrument of State policy, the regime had to initiate and support a movement of pro-Communist priests within the Orthodox Church organization itself. And this was exactly what it did. At first, the head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Exarch Stephan I, tried to go along with the Communists, resisting their incursions as best he could, in the vain hope that he could prevent the complete domination or destruction of his confession.

But the Communists by a combined campaign of intimidation and persecution demoralized the clergy and succeeded in splitting them into pro- and anti-regime groups. The pro-government group was in the minority, composed of young priests who attempted to "adjust" Marxism to Christianity. A pro-regime organization of priests called the

Union of Orthodox Priests was organized and supported the government policy towards religion. Oppositionist priests were replaced by priests sympathetic to the Communists. Exarch Stephan was forced to resign in September, 1948, after a campaign of terror against the anti-Communist priesthood, and a government appointee, Bishop Mihail, was put in his place. The Union of Orthodox priests held a Congress the very next month (October, 1948) and officially declared themselves in support of government policy. The chairman of the Union, Ivan Bogdanov, is now directing the Union's policy toward the "modernization" of Orthodoxy and towards bringing Bulgaria's 2,500 priests into sympathy with the regime program.

In addition, the highest Church authority, the Holy Synod, was captured by the Communists. Although only 3 of the 12 archbishops who compose the Synod are Communist appointees, the regime managed to have two of its adherents elected as chairman and secretary, thus giving them another means for directing and controlling the entire Church and clergy. The Holy Synod, of course, upheld the views of the Union of Orthodox Priests' Congress. Propaganda for the Communist point of view is now carried both in the organ of the Holy Synod, *Tsarkoven Vestnik*, as well as in the Union of Orthodox Priests' paper, *Naroden Pastor*.

The Communists also cut off relations with the West. Prior to the Communist regime, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church took part in all Ecclesiastical Conferences in the West and was a member of the World Council of Churches. Since the end of World War II, the Church has taken part in no international ecclesiastical conference, nor have any of its high ranking clergy been permitted to leave the country.

Protestant Churches

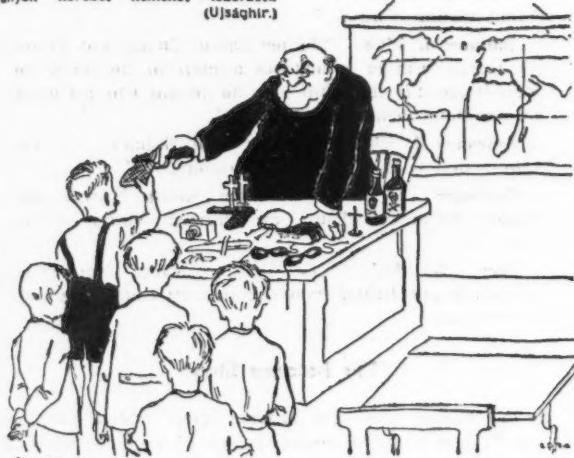
Protestantism dates back only to the 19th Century in Bulgaria and the number of its adherents does not exceed 20,000. Nevertheless, their vigor and influence among intellectuals brought them into the Communist antireligious campaign. Their ties to the West gave them an importance beyond their numerical size. In 1948, therefore, 15 leading Protestant ministers were arrested and subsequently tried and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Other ministers and leading intellectuals and laymen were also arrested, imprisoned and sent to slave labor camps.

The number of Roman Catholics in Bulgaria does not exceed 60,000, but their connections to the Vatican and their influence in the field of education also brought Communist repression down on them. Catholic clergymen were intimidated, deported, and finally the high point of their persecution was reached in a trial held from September 21 to October 4, 1952. One bishop and three priests were sentenced to be shot and 24 priests and 12 laymen were sentenced to prison terms. The remaining clergy are now under Communist control and supervision.

The Moslem minority in Bulgaria numbers some 550,000 persons, chiefly of Turkish descent. The present government ordered large parts of this Turkish minority de-

,Engedjétek hozzá a kisdedeket“

Otto Madr cseh katolikus pap, aki el-végezte a Vatikán KÜLÖNBEGÉS KÉMISZKOLÁJÁT, hittanorák alatt a rábítózott tanítványok köréből kömékkel toborzott. (Ujságíró.)



Caption: "Bring your little ones unto me . . ."

Legend: Otto Madr, Czech priest, who has been to a Vatican spy school, teaches children to be spies.

From *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), June 18, 1952

ported to Turkey. Since August, 1950, something over 150,000 Turks have been deported. The remaining Moslems live under the same conditions of religious suppression as do the rest of the population.

ALBANIA:

Three trends in the Communist strategy toward religion in Albania are apparent: elimination of Roman Catholicism because of its internal power and ties with the West; toleration, within limits, of Moslemism because of its propaganda value in the Middle East; recognition of Eastern Orthodoxy as an enemy and its relatively rapid "merger" with the Russian Orthodox Church. Catholicism claims 12 percent, or 141,720, of the country's 1,181,000 population; Moslems constitute 70 percent, or 826,700; Orthodoxy represents 18 percent, or 212,580.

Islam

The three nationalized Churches of Albania serve the same master Cominform plans prescribed for all Satellites, but because Albania is predominantly Moslem, that Church fulfills still another propaganda purpose: Albania's Moslem community is held up to the free Moslem world as a paragon of religion and Communism working in harmony. Party members hand-picked from the Moslem world outside of Albania broadcast daily over Radio Tirana that there is no conflict between the basic principles of Islam as expressed in its sacred book, the *Koran*, and the teachings of Marx and Lenin. They depict Albania as hav-

ing accepted Communism without in any way giving up the injunctions of Mohammed. To Moslems in the Middle East and North Africa, they explain that Moslemism in Albania has broken with "imperialist" circles which wanted to "dominate its country." They point to the "Socialist achievements" of Albania and claim that Premier Hoxha, a devout Communist, demonstrates his sympathy for the Moslem faith by regularly attending services.

Regime control of Islam was formed of the same calculated components used in other Satellites and welded together in much the same way. The favorite Leninist "splinter" technique, for example, was particularly effective when applied to the many sects in Islam. Each was attacked separately in order to weaken the central administrative organ, *Drita Hyjmore*, or "Divine Light." In the beginning, the regime allegedly sought cooperation with the most powerful sect, the *Bektashi*, and even went so far as to appoint two of its leaders, Baba Faja and Baba Fejzo, as deputies to the People's Assembly. When they were later assassinated, the alliance came to an abrupt end and another familiar Communist device was substituted; imprisonment and subsequent execution of leading *Bektashi* and Moslem priests: Baba Zylfua, Baba Qamili, Baba Ali Tomori, Baba Myrteza Kruja, Baba Shefqet Koshtani, and the Sheik of Bilishti. Added to this list are Baba Kamberi, who died in prison, and Dede Abazi who was also involved in the assassination. Unexplained mysteries still surround the events of the triple murder which was reported in *Bashkimi* (Tirana) March 20, 1947, and specific details are lacking. Some reports indicate that Baba Faja and Baba Fejzo were assassinated by Dede Abazi to avenge their collaboration with the regime; exile researchers, on the other hand, conjecture that the affair was Communist-inspired to bring an end to an alliance they no longer found useful. The present head of Albania's nationalized Moslem Church is Communist-appointed Hafiz Musa Haxhi Alija.

Laws 108 and 743

Ways to deprive the Church of income, curb its influence and outlaw religious instruction were invoked earlier. Land Reform Law 108, promulgated on August 29, 1945, legalized confiscation of monasteries and schools. Appointees of the Popular Executive Council took the places of displaced monks, many of whom were sent to labor camps.

The Moslem Church was not unique in its forced financial dependence upon the State. According to *Gazeta Zyrta*, August 30, 1946, appropriations for that year were provided by the Ministry of Justice as follows: to the Orthodox Church, 200,000 gold francs; to the Moslem community, 240,000 gold francs; to the *Bektashi* community, 60,000 gold francs. The Roman Catholic Church, representing only about 150,000 of Albania's 1,181,000 population, was omitted from the list. At present, *Gazeta Zyrta* is not circulated outside Albania, and consequently there are no subsequent data available.

Similarly, the three Churches were lumped together under Law 743, November 26, 1949:

Articles 13 and 15: ". . . All the elected and nominated personnel of Churches must be approved by the Council of Ministers. . . Those who act against the laws of the state . . . must be immediately dismissed from service. . . If the religious organ does not take action . . . the state acts itself. . ."

Article 18: ". . . All religious communities are obliged to send immediately to the Council of Ministers pastoral letters, messages, speeches, memoranda and everything to be printed or made public. The Council of Ministers has the right to annul, if it does not agree . . . with them. . ."

Article 23: ". . . The education of youth is conducted by the State, and religious institutions have nothing to do with it. . ."

Article 24: ". . . Religious communities cannot have hospitals, orphanages, institutions of welfare, real estate. . . All these institutions which still exist at this proclamation are immediately nationalized. . ."

Hate . . . In Sufficient Measure

Persecution of the Roman Catholic minority in Albania was characterized by terror, arrest and murder. So harsh were regime measures against Catholicism that they provoked criticism from an important Party leader, Tuk Jakova, who subsequently acknowledged his "mistaken attitude." Jakova's shortcomings were the subject of considerable discussion at a Party Congress held on March 31, 1952, and brought forth strong condemnation from Premier Hoxha. Hoxha's attacks on the former Second Secretary of Shkodra were reprinted in *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana) April 1, 1952:

". . . Comrade Tuk Jakova, in contradiction to the political line of the Party and of the State concerning religion generally, and the Catholic clergy particularly, has not properly understood and has not properly acted against the Catholic clergy. Without seeing the very great danger of the reactionary clergy, Comrade Tuk Jakova has not hated them in sufficient measure. . ."

Catholicism claimed only 12 percent of Albania's population as adherents, but it had power in its ownership of schools, seminaries and welfare institutions and was an active force in the country's social and cultural life. A total of 141,720 Catholics were served by 93 priests in 131 parishes.

In December 1944, just one month after Communists took power, the regime confiscated the Catholic press. Kindergartens and elementary schools were taken over by State personnel during May and June; youth activists were directed to hold periodic political meetings in grammar schools. A regime campaign of intimidation, abuse and "Fascist" accusations was initiated in early 1945 against Catholic associations, religious orders and youth groups.

Priests not arrested, deported or executed in the persecutions described above met their fate alone for protesting regime measures, being of Italian origin, or having "Fascist" tendencies. Accounts appearing daily in a section of *Bashkimi* (Tirana) entitled, "Fascists in Clerical Clothes Should Be Shot in the Head," describe the events:

January 3, 1945: "Father Anton Harapi, prominent clergyman, has deceived the people . . . so he must die. . ."

February 20, 1945: "Don Lazer Shantoja was executed without trial. . ."

January 8, 1946: "[Father Daniel Dajani and Father G. Faustit] wanted to make an attempt on the life of the people and kill them, but it is the people who are going to eliminate them mercilessly. . ."

February 8, 1946: "[Father Gjon Shllaku] . . . was condemned to death by a military court. . ."

February 14, 1946: "[Father Anton Harapi and Father Bernardin Palaj] are enraged Fascist terrorists. . ."

April 18, 1947: "Don Shtjefen Kurti, Don Peter Meshkalla and Bishop Irene Banushi are leading a group of terrorists. . ."

The Balance Sheet

By December 1950 the balance sheet looked like this: of the 93 priests of the secular clergy, 17 were executed; 39 imprisoned or put in labor camps; 11 were drafted into military service; 10 died; 3 escaped to foreign countries; 13 remained free. Of the 94 Jesuits and Franciscans, 16 were shot; 31 expelled; 35 imprisoned or sentenced to forced labor; 13 are in hiding; 6 died. All members of the Order of Don Orione and 85 nuns were expelled because of their Italian origin; 43 more of a total 200 nuns were imprisoned or sent to forced labor camps; the remainder were defrocked.

For propaganda purposes, the Catholic episcopate was spared until the end, but once the regime had decided upon its elimination, no time was lost. In January 1948, Mgr. Nicola Vincenzo Prennushi, the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Durres, was arrested and imprisoned without trial; Mgr. Georges Volaj, Bishop of Sappa, was arrested during the same month and executed February 3. At the end of 1946, Mgr. Francesco Gjini, Bishop of Allessio, was imprisoned, freed one year later, re-arrested and shot on March 11, 1948. 80-year-old Mgr. Shllaku, Bishop of Pulati, has been confined since March 1948 to his residence at Koder Shen Gjergji in the mountains of northern Albania. Mgr. Gaspare Thaci, Archbishop of Shkoder, died in 1946.

Catholic influence was minimized to such an extent by 1951 that the regime could boldly proclaim the Church's severance from the Vatican. The break was announced at a convention of unrepresentative Catholics in Shkodra, traditional center of Albanian Catholicism. No member of the former episcopate was present, and consequently no voice of opposition was heard. One of the main tasks of the delegates was approval of a Communist-prescribed statute calling for formation of a "National Catholic Church." The provisions of the ratified statute spelled out plainly that Catholicism had lost its identity and was officially being fused with the State administrative apparatus:

"1. The [Catholic] Church [is national in character and] no longer has any kind of organizational, economic or political ties with the Pope. . ."

"2. The [Catholic] Church may function as long as it does not violate the laws of the People's Republic, good customs and public order. . . ."

"3. Along with religious sentiments, the Catholic clergy must develop among the faithful a sentiment of loyalty toward the people's power of the Albanian People's Republic. . . ."

"4. The [Catholic] Church is assisted financially by the government, following the request of the Bishop and according to the possibilities of the government. . . ."

"5. Any nomination of clergy or their verbal or printed activity must be previously approved by the People's Government. . . ."

"6. Relations with foreign Churches may be established only through official channels of the Albanian People's Republic. . . ."

Eastern Orthodoxy

Because of the traditionally nationalist character of the Albanian Orthodox Church, the Communist plan was to use it as an instrument of mobilizing the Orthodox population behind Communist policies. Steps were taken by the regime to rid the Orthodox Church of elements it considered "unreliable" and then its Churches, monasteries and one seminary were infiltrated by pro-Communist agitators. Monasteries in Ardenice, Narte, Voskopoja and Vlora are now administered by a Popular Executive Council. Bishop Ireneo, Deputy Metropolitan of Korea and Gynokastra; Bishop Agathangeli of Berat; and Archbishop Kristofor Kissi, former head of the Albanian Orthodox Church, were interned or arrested at the end of 1948. Archbishop Kissi, according to *Bashkimi* (Tirana), August 28, 1949, "was working against our interests and the interests of our people by his activity with the Unitarian Church during the Fascist occupation. . . ."

Eastern Orthodoxy's merger with the Russian Church and her submission to the Patriarch of Moscow came in 1948 when a delegation headed by Communist appointee Archbishop Paissi journeyed to Moscow to receive Patriarch Alexei's official blessing. Mgr. Paissi, at a national conference of Moslem, Orthodox and Catholic clergies in Tirana July 8, 1952, said that the Albanian Orthodox Church "always stands with the people and defends their interests," and that the resolutions passed at international congresses and conferences of Peace Partisans had been discussed in all Albanian Churches and the faithful had voiced their solidarity with them.

THE TACTICS OF DOMINATION:

A two-fold antireligious program has been carried out by the Stalinists in the captive countries. On the one hand, the tactics of domination have included a drive to reduce the entire Church structure to spiritual and functional ineffectuality while simultaneously exploiting whatever spiritual and functional power the Church possesses in defense of the Communist world view. On the other hand, religious belief itself has been attacked by creating an atmosphere of apathy and actual hostility to religious faith.



Karel J. Žencl

„Ten kouř mi vůbec nevadí – já jsem na podkuřování zvyklý...“

"The smoke doesn't bother me. I'm used to the smell of incense."

From *Dikobraz* (Prague) December 28, 1952

At this stage of Satellite integration, the Communist regimes remain far more concerned with creating a captive Church than with directly de-Christianizing the captive area. Their first objective, State control of the Churches, was approached by a series of tactics that made a definite pattern. The Churches were expropriated and made economically dependent on the State. The State used its stipends to the Church to split the clergy, generally sponsoring a pro-Communist priest movement in doing so. Church publications and sermons were censored or banned so that the hierarchy's ability to fight back was crippled. The Communists then attempted to replace the Church's ruling hierarchy with their own adherents while imposing loyalty oaths to the government on the entire clergy. Although it emphasized that all it wanted was a Church separated from the State, the State put the Church under an Office of Ecclesiastical Affairs (the names change in each country but the office and its functions remain the same), thus making the government the actual arbiter of religious affairs. At the same time, foreign support from co-religionists and brother Churches was carefully cut off, and relationships with international religious conclaves or the Vatican severed.

The inroads made on Church authority by the series of "compromise" agreements between Church and State were considerable. The Communists succeeded in undermining ecclesiastical structure with "national" Catholic Churches and subversion of Orthodoxy. In Romania, Bulgaria, Poland and Albania, the Orthodox Churches were converted into instruments of Communist policy. The Uniate Church organization in Romania and Poland was completely crushed by compulsory conversion to and merger with Eastern Orthodoxy. In some countries—Romania, Albania, Hungary, and to some extent in Czechoslovakia—the Communists succeeded in partially transforming the Roman Catholic Church into "national" Catholic Churches under government domination. Pro-regime clergymen were installed in most of the Protestant religious groups, and were left a fiction of freedom so that the Stalinists might use their connections with the West and exploit their international conclaves as forums for promoting Communist propaganda. Other religious groups, such as the Moslems in Albania, were also turned to account as instruments of State policy, and some, such as the Jews, were made the targets of intensifying campaigns of repression and persecution.

As conceived by the Stalinists, the ideal State-Church relationship seems to be the one between the Kremlin and the Russian Orthodox Church, where for a long time the Church has been an instrument of State political power. In the captive countries, therefore, the purpose of subordinating the Churches has been to force their clergy to promote Communist political and economic programs with the

people. Priests have been used to support collectivization drives, industrial speedup campaigns, friendship months with the USSR, hate-the-West, hate-America and hate-the-Vatican publicity, and "peace campaigns" such as the Stockholm Peace Appeal (1950), the Berlin Peace Meeting (1951), and the Vienna People's Congress for Peace (1952).

The Long View

But in the furor of immediate tactics, the long range purpose of the Communists, enmeshed in their immutable Marxian ideology, must not be ignored. Extirpation of religion is the ultimate aim of Stalinism; the Marxist dogma that "the abolition of religion as an illusory happiness of the people is a requisite of their real happiness" is still the guiding maxim for Communist policy. The plan of exterminating faith has been carried out cautiously and slowly both because the goal of converting the Churches to instruments of State policy was necessary first, and because of Lenin's advice that direct assault on religion leads only to strengthening religious resistance. Antireligious campaigns in the youth movements and the education of the younger generation according to Marxist-Leninist principles are the chief means of creating an atheist atmosphere. The freedom to practice religion has systematically been reduced to liturgical and ritual observance, while the visible signs of religion have been increasingly removed and ritual practice made difficult by various governmental edicts. Defense of faith is prohibited while antireligious propaganda is encouraged and disseminated. Under these conditions it is almost impossible for the Churches under Communist rule to counteract atheism.

The past seven years have shown that compromise with the Communists on religious matters is at best possible only for the shortest time. The final position of the Church, if it would continue to function at all in a Stalinized Europe, can only be acceptance of and participation in Communist policy. The breaching of Church autonomy by Stalinist chicanery and brutality was only the overture and the first act. The denouement and the final act will be devoted to achieving absolute supremacy of Communist power and the eradication of all religious belief. The conquest of Church organizations, or their subversion, is now an accomplished fact, but the destruction of religious forms does not signify the death of religious faith. The green shoots of man's belief in God grow and flourish nevertheless, nor will they be battered out of existence by the Communist hammer or the Stalinist sickle. The Red Star over Europe cannot share the sky with any other star be it Star of David or Star of Bethlehem or the symbol of any other spiritual allegiance, but man's faith like the phoenix, through flame and ashes, arises once more renewed and strengthened.

In Second Gear

I. COLLECTIVIZATION

Communist emphasis on the proletariat stems from its urban origin. The Communists have always feared the rural community with its traditionally independent farmer, and therefore wherever they have seized power they have attempted to make the countryside as much like the city as possible. In doing so, collectivization has been their chief method. After a tapering off in 1951, the drive to bring all peasants in the captive countries into collectives has once more been accelerated. Statistics on the number of collectives formed in 1952 indicate that the slowdown of the previous year was due to Communist efforts to consolidate the gains they had already made. Now the collectivization rate has been intensified once again.

Information coming from Bulgaria states that during 1952 the policy of enforced collectivization came to a standstill. According to official declarations by Bulgaria's high ranking Communist officials, the number of collective farms (TKZS) was 2,739 by the end of 1951, but on December 3, 1952, according to a report in *Zemedelsko Zname* (Sofia), there were only 2,738 collectives, one less than in 1951. These collectives include some 51 percent of the arable land in Bulgaria.

It is expected that the drive for complete collectivization of agriculture will be resumed with new force during 1953. One sign of it can be seen in an editorial which appeared in *Rabotnicheskoye Delo* (Sofia), January 15, 1953:

"The 1953 Plan provides for greater development of our agriculture, for its mechanization, and for the application of agrotechnical methods to obtain higher yields. In this connection, an important role will be played by the regional, district and local People's Councils. Their paramount task is to concentrate on the reorganization and future development of our agriculture and on the organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farms.

"It is necessary not to forget the work to be carried out among the individual farmers who are prospective members of the collective farms . . ."

Radio Warsaw on November 12, 1952, broadcast the figures on collectivization in Poland. After the almost complete slackening off in 1951, the collectivization drive was renewed in 1952 when, during the first six months of the year, 308 new collectives were organized. During the first ten months of 1952, a total of 1,406 collectives were formed, a rate proportionate to that of 1950 when 1,957 new collectives were organized.

Radio Bucharest, November 7, also gave statistics on collectivization in Romania during the first 10 months of 1952. The rate of collectivization was increased as the year progressed, with a monthly average of 50 to 100 cooperatives increasing to 75 to 150 per month. The current monthly rate of increase is greater than the total number (62) of farms established in 1951. The number of cooperatives formed in September and October equals the total number of such associations in existence in Romania before September of 1951.

Gottwald Reports

The collectivization drive in Czechoslovakia has been especially intensified this year so that that country now has a higher percentage of land collectivized than any other captive country with the exception of Bulgaria. In the four months from June to September of 1952, more than 1,000 cooperatives were founded as compared with less than 760 organized in the preceding sixteen months.

President Klement Gottwald reported on the results of the collectivization drive at a State-wide conference of the Communist Party in Prague on December 16. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 17, 1952, quoted him as follows:

"Our agriculture is undergoing great changes from individual to collective farming. The increase of the number of Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives, especially during the current year, has been remarkable. As of October 30, 1952, we have a total of 8,636 Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives, of which 1,356 are of Type I, 2,370 of Type II, 4,499 of Type III and 411 of Type IV.

The number of uniform Agricultural Cooperatives without ploughed-under boundaries [individual farm holdings used to have grass boundaries between plots] amount to 6,880, which represents 48 percent of all communities. 289,401 farms with an acreage of 2,337,425 hectares of farmland are incorporated into Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives of the Second, Third and Fourth Types. The acreage of Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives of Types III and IV amounts to 24.6 percent of all agricultural and to 27.4 percent of all arable land in the Republic. . . .

Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives

In Czechoslovakia, four basic types of Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives exist. Type I includes private ownership of land but farmers use draft animals, tools, machines and their own labor in common. Crop and animals remain privately owned, and income from the yield belongs to the individual farmer. In Type II, private plots are pooled by ploughing up boundaries between plots and "symmetrical compounds of land" are created. Crop production is achieved by common work groups. Animal husbandry remains in the hands of individuals. Compensation is on the basis of "work units." However, the land owner still receives the full land rent of the acreage he pooled.

Type III abolishes private ownership of land, and plots are surrendered to the cooperative. The basic means of production (implements, machines, livestock) have been purchased by the cooperative and are joint property. Crop and animals are cared for collectively. Compensation according to work units forms the essential part of the cooperative member's income. Land rent is still paid on the basis of the land contributed but is limited to between 10 and 20 percent of the cooperative's total income. Type IV includes land and basic means of production as common property, collectively owned by the cooperative. Work is organized according to "Socialist" principles on the basis of an annual plan in the form of permanent divisions of labor. Cooperative members' income is based on work units and is the only source of income. Income is determined on the basis of quantity and quality of work and land rent is abolished as unearned income.

The increase of collectivization in Czechoslovakia is graphically presented by the following statistics:

Number of Cooperatives			
1952	Type I	Types II-IV	Types I-IV
January 1	2,479	3,771	6,250
October 30	1,356	7,280	8,636
<u>Acreage</u>			
January 1	1,290,611 hectares		
October 30	2,337,425 hectares		

This indicates an increase of 1,046,814 hectares of arable land brought into the cooperatives. The drive for collectivization was less effective in the establishment of Uniform

Agricultural Cooperatives (2,386), than in transforming existing cooperatives into "higher" types (3,509). The decrease in Type I and the increase in Types II-IV are in line with the Communist emphasis on increasing the degree of collectivization.

So Does Rakosi

On December 15, 1952, Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi, leader of the Hungarian Communist Party delivered an address to the National Assembly on the pace of collectivization in the country, which was reported in *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), December 16:

"During 1952, 92,403 peasant families, with a total of 713,500 cadastral acres of arable land, joined the cooperative farms. At present, the total acreage of arable land belonging to collective farms is 2,213,000 cadastral acres. This amounts to 22.8 percent of the total arable land. Small plots of land left for the private use of farmers amount to 1.8 percent of the total arable land. The total acreage of cooperative farms is 2,606,000 cadastral acres and the total number of members is 446,900. 24.6 percent, i.e. almost one quarter, of the country's arable land is now in the hands of cooperative farmers' families totalling 318,500 persons.

"The total acreage of arable land in the possession of State farms is 1,190,000 cadastral acres, 12.7 percent of the total arable land. This figure exceeds the target called for by the Five Year Plan.

"The total acreage of arable land belonging to cooperative and State farms amounts to 37.3 percent of the total arable land."

According to announcements made by leading Communist economists, at least 50 percent of Hungary's arable land will be collectivized by the end of 1954 when the Five Year Plan expires.

The extensive campaign for establishment of kolkhozes was also under way in Poland during 1952. In December 1952, the Polish press published accounts of the development of collectives in the previous 11 months of the year. *Wola Ludu* (Warsaw), December 17, gave the following information:

"Today, 4,630 productive cooperatives exist in the country. Of this number, 1,600 were created during the current year. Membership in productive cooperatives passed the figure of 100,000 peasant families. The area of productive cooperatives consists of more than 1,000,000 hectares. During 1952, 11,000 peasants joined the agricultural cooperatives."

Further, *Wola Ludu* wrote that the greatest achievements were made in the Wroclaw district where, during 1952, 400 new kolkhozes were created. Second place was taken by the Poznan district, where the number reached 477.

The number of newly created cooperatives is about twice as large as in 1951. The average size of the kolkhozes is small, about 200 hectares, and the memberships usually do not exceed 20 families. Each family probably holds about 10 hectares, which is a medium-sized farm in Poland. On the whole, only one twentieth of the arable land be-

longs to kolkhozes and the peasant membership does not exceed 3.5 percent of the peasantry.

Kolkhoz Problems

After seven years of conflict with the individualistic and resisting peasants, the collectivization program is far from completed. Independent farmers have been reluctant to join collective farms and many forms of governmental pressure have been necessary to force them into kolkhozes. This coercion has raised various problems for the Satellite regimes, ranging from outright shortage to the withholding of crops, as well as numberless difficulties in getting peasants to join the cooperatives without the overt demonstration of force.

Wola Ludu (Warsaw), December 16, 1952, analyzing the situation in Polish cooperatives, conceded that in spite of spectacular achievements shortcomings still exist.

"... Cooperatives in Wola Wyzykowa [Lask district], Bakowa Gora [Radom district], Laznowska Wola [Brzeziny district], and Frapol [Rawa Mazowiecka district], due to the political laxity and subversive activities of the enemy, have made very minor achievements. They do not attract peasants to the cooperative movement; they repel them. Carelessness with regard to the problem of the reconstruction of the agricultural system shows itself in many of the cooperatives already organized. 35 of the cooperatives in the Lodz voievodship, organized during 1950-1951, have still not begun collective work."

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), January 15, 1953 commented on the shortcomings of Bulgarian cooperatives, particularly stressing "low yields," "insufficient propaganda among the peasantry," "ineffective guidance by the People's Councils," and advised that "mastering the Lenin-Stalin style of work by all cadres in agriculture is necessary for successful fulfillment of all tasks in agriculture."

In Romania, the leading Communist daily, *Scanteia* (Bucharest), January 9, 1953 devoted an editorial entitled "Full Attention to Public Cooperative Meetings" to the problems of kolkhozes. The paper explains that apart from improving town-country trade, cooperatives must help Socialist industry with the necessary raw material supplies. *Scanteia* criticized the continued underestimation of the fundamental importance of kolkhozes to the Socialist transformation of agriculture. "In some cases," the paper continued, "theft, embezzlement, mismanagement and indifference toward public property are rife. Many cooperatives continue to be indifferent to building up stockpiles."

"In many places, the cooperatives are engaged in a narrow commercial activity divorced from the masses. Many cooperative authorities still do not understand that stocks cannot be built up through bureaucratic activities, but only through the mobilization and activization of the working peasants. They have failed to grasp the idea that cooperative units are not just shops for the sale of industrial goods, but mass organizations which fight for the common interests of the working classes and of the peasants, and that the intensification of trade between town and village, and especially increased stocks, demands the education, mobilization, and activization

of the masses of working peasants and the arousing of their interests for the efficient functioning of the cooperatives.

"The fight for the liquidation of important shortcomings which still exist in the cooperative movement, presents the Party and State authorities and the basic village organizations with tasks of great responsibility. All who work in cooperatives are obliged to fight for radical liquidation of the effects of right-wing deviation and for the realization of the plans for the acquisition of stocks.

"All cooperative units must be fully acquainted with the needs of the peasants and must do their utmost to bring to them the required goods. Let the cooperatives become strong organizations capable of contributing to the raising of the standard of living of workers in towns and villages, to the strengthening of the alliance between the workers and peasants."

Negligence and Inefficiency

In Latvia, *Sovetskaja Latvia* (Riga), October 25, 1952, the Russian language newspaper of the Communist Party, complained about negligence and lack of discipline in the district kolkhozes. Late arrival, work efficiency, and low yield were castigated. Fodder had not been prepared for the winter; proper tools were not available for harvesting and reaping; stables were in disrepair; and severe shortages in all areas interfered with Plan fulfillment.

In Albania, the newspaper *Bashkimi* (Tirana), October 4, 1952, in a lead article entitled "In Aid of Agricultural Cooperatives," also dealt critically with kolkhoz problems.

"... The Statute on Agricultural Cooperatives is the important document in which Party policy is expressed. ... The Statute gives the experience of Soviet kolkhozes under whose directives our own cooperatives work. ... The Statute is the chain by which the personal interests of the members are linked to the common interests of the cooperative. That is why the Statute provides every family with a small piece of land and an established quantity of livestock for its own personal use. ... As a result, people are paying more attention to the land and livestock allotted for their own personal interest. Discipline and work order are weakened in this way and production Plans are not fulfilled. Instead of being strengthened, collective economy is weakened. Cooperative members must seek the improvement of their material conditions not in their small pieces of land but in the development of the cooperative. . . ."

As in the other Satellites, the struggle to acclimatize the farmers to the idea of collectives and the campaign to persuade or coerce them into collectives continues, and the tactics are many and varied. Pressure for delivery quotas is greater on independent farmers, and their delivery quotas are higher than those of farmers in collectives. Supplementary delivery obligations are frequently imposed on private farmers as well. Additional taxes are imposed on them and in Czechoslovakia, for example, a new land tax has been introduced as of January 1, 1953, which discriminates against individual landholders, and gives Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives immense privileges (see page 40).

II. INDUSTRIALIZATION

Heavy industrialization has been one of the long term aims of Satellite economic planners. One of their most immediate recent concerns has been the completion and expansion of factories and power plants in order to forward this program. In the more heavily industrialized countries, the emphasis is on sources of power and machine tool development; in the less developed, on processing such raw materials as tobacco and cotton.

In Czechoslovakia, newspaper reports indicate that great stress is being laid on the completion of new hydroelectric projects. *Rude Pravo* (Prague) wrote on November 10, 1952: "On November 7 . . . [workers] completed construction of the new hydroelectric plant at Kostolna on the first section of the river Vah . . . Average annual production of the Kostolna plant will save our economy 124,000 [metric] tons of coal." The same paper reported on December 21: "The builders of the Krizanovice dam . . . completed work on the hydroelectric plant and dam on the river Chrudimka. . . . The dam will hold 2 million cubic metres of water. . . . A coal power plant of the same capacity would consume 4 box cars of coal daily. . . ." Another large power plant was completed in October at Smirice (see November 1952 issue, p. 27). Still another hydroelectric plant is being built at Lipno in southern Bohemia. Its capacity will replace 46 box cars of coal daily, according to *Prace* (Prague), December 5, 1952.

In an effort to utilize all available sources of energy, a long distance gas pipe is being built between the HUKO foundry combine which is under construction in eastern Slovakia, and the city of Kosice. According to *Rude Pravo*, October 28, 1952, the pipe will be used to supply gas to the combine until the HUKO complex is completed, then the entire city of Kosice will be supplied by gas from HUKO.

Other large plants under construction in the effort to industrialize Slovakia are: HRON—non-ferrous metals and wood combine; SYNTESIA—basic chemical products; PREFA—prefabricated concrete parts.

At the same time, many existing plants are being enlarged and modernized. *Rude Pravo*, December 14, 1952, reported that a third Martin furnace will be added to the V. M. Molotov Iron Works in Trinec by the end of 1952. According to a correspondent's report, new uranium mines were opened in August in Zlate Hory in the Jesenik district.

In Bulgaria, too, there has been industrial expansion. *Trud* (Sofia), December 2, 1952, reported the official opening of a new State cellulose plant and also announced a new sulphate-cellulose plant in the offing which will turn lumber and straw into artificial textile fibers. *Narodna Mladej* (Sofia), December 14, 1952, also announced a new tannic extract plant built on the plains of Krichim, which would aid in the development of the leather industry and which will obviate the necessity of purchasing this extract abroad. The same paper wrote of the new carbide factory built in "less than four months," "the largest of its kind

in the country," which will produce not only enough carbide for domestic consumption, but a surplus for export. (See November, 1952 issue, p. 20 regarding these factories.)

Vecherni Novini (Sofia) reported in its November 21, 1952 issue that a new cotton spinning plant had been built in Gabrovo, but lamented "the delay in receiving steel, nails, and cement" which ". . . compels us to shift workers from one section to another, thus delaying the building." The plant will be the second largest cotton spinning plant in the country and will have machines imported from East Germany. Vulko Chervenkov, according to a *Trud* news story of December 13, 1952, announced that two new cotton mills will begin operations, SIE Martiza in Plovdiv and SIE Balkan in Gabrovo, with a combined capacity of 60 thousand spinners. The machinery will be imported from East Germany.

Processing Plants

Other developments relate to the tobacco and cotton industries. *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), December 3, 1952, reported:

"Blagoevgrad—December 2. The workers of the Pirin region have realized a new Socialist victory. On December 1, in our city, a newly built plant for the artificial fermentation of tobacco was put in operation. In 40 chambers in this plant the tobacco will ferment in only eight to ten days. This will allow thousands of kilograms of tobacco to ferment in a very short period of time, while more than ten months would have been necessary for their natural fermentation."

"Kustendil—December 2. In the honor of the forthcoming elections for people's Councils, the newly built plant for the fermentation of tobacco was put into operation two days ago. In this plant tobacco fermentation will be reduced from ten months to ten days."

Rabotnicheskoe Delo (Sofia), November 24, 1952, also announced the opening of a new tobacco fermentation plant in Yambol on November 21, 1952. There the tobacco will ferment in seven to eight days.

At the same time the so-called "single manipulation" of the tobacco is being applied. The same newspaper wrote on November 4:

"Last year the Stankedimitrovo cooperative of Rila, delivered 60 tons of tobacco for export, manipulated by the producers. When applying single manipulation, the workers did not have an adequate working room. . . . All the women both fold and clean. . . ."

And two days later, November 6, added:

"Using the experience of the Soviet kolkhozes, 13 co-operative farms from the Haskovo county applied the single manipulation of the Tonga tobaccos for the first time. In this case the home and workhouse manipulations are done simultaneously, and the tobacco is ready for export. . . . It is then quickly transported by co-operative trucks to Haskovo for further fermentation and ripening. . . ."

The Albanian Telegraph Agency (Tirana), November 8, 1952, reported that a second cotton-ginning factory was opened in Rogozhine, the Durazzo district, under the Five Year Plan. This factory, built with Soviet aid, together with the factory opened last year at Fieri, is said to make Albania self-sufficient in raw materials for its textile industry. The Agency also reported the opening of the Tirana-Durrest high-tension power line and described the ceremonies at the official inauguration on November 5. The second wood-seasoning factory in Albania was recently opened at Puke, equipped with Soviet machinery.

Soviet Marginal Exploitation

Industrial difficulties still arise. Shortages of machinery, raw materials, and skilled labor continue to plague the Satellite economies. However, the USSR appears eager and willing to send technicians to the captive countries to search for minerals, blueprint new plants, supply machinery and to place their experts to supervise production and delivery to the Soviet Union, provided that the production and delivery in question is of vital interest to the Soviet economy (particularly with regard to heavy industry and basic raw materials such as ores and metals). However, machine tools are scarce, their replacements scarcer, and their maintenance poor. Further, Soviet geologists have advised exploiting low grade ores and other emergency industrial measures.

Less than a month before he was purged, the Minister of Foreign Trade, Antonin Gregor, said on November 10, 1952, *Prace* (Prague), November 11: "With the help of Soviet geologists new deposits of copper ores have been located in our country, and old, closed copper mines reopened."

Apparently reopening mines which had been closed because they were unprofitable is no problem for the USSR since the loss will be carried by the Satellite country involved. The pattern can be shown by the example of pig iron production. In the above mentioned address, Antonin Gregor said:

"The capitalist businessmen of the pre-Munich republic asserted that Czechoslovak iron ore rated too low in iron content, and was not suitable for modern processing. Only Soviet experience and Soviet technical help destroyed the pseudo-scientific theories of the bourgeois experts, and showed the way to utilization of iron ore deposits. With Soviet help the correct methods of iron ore processing were found, and the Soviet Union supplied equipment for processing by the clodding method. The output of these clodding plants alone will bring about . . . an increase in pig iron output equalling approximately 40 percent of Czechoslovak pig iron production in 1936."

There is little doubt but that this will increase pig iron production. However, making iron out of low quality iron ore is extremely uneconomical due to the considerable increase necessary in the use of limestone, fuel, labor, time, etc. The clodding method is so unprofitable that only two other plants are known. One was built in wartime Ger-

many in Obersalzgitter on Goering's orders and against the advice of German industrialists. The other, which was built in Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia near Dvur Kralove by the Prague Iron Works, cost 60 million wartime koruny or about 240 million new koruny (about 4.8 million dollars). Apparently the Soviet experts rediscovered this process, and are as little concerned with the cost to the Czechoslovak population as the Nazis had been.

III. TAXATION

In an effort to find funds to finance the huge industrial investment program blueprinted by the Five Year Plan, the Czechoslovak government has completely reorganized the tax system as of January 1 (see December 1952 issue, p. 25). As Jaroslav Kolar, Secretary of the TUC, put it in his recommendation to the Parliament, *Prace*, (Prague), December 12, 1952: "By a consistent enforcement of the tax bills submitted today, we shall forge another effective tool to systematically increase the political, economic, and military power of our state, and thus of the entire camp of democracy and peace."

The new income tax rates, given by the same issue of *Prace*, are as follows:

Income (in koruny)		Tax		
1,000	to	1,500	5%	
1,500	"	2,000	8%	
			koruny	koruny
2,000	"	3,000	160 and 10% over	2,000
3,000	"	4,000	260 "	3,000
4,000	"	5,000	370 "	4,000
5,000	"	6,000	490 "	5,000
6,000	"	7,000	620 "	6,000
7,000	"	8,000	760 "	7,000
8,000	"	9,000	910 "	8,000
9,000	"	10,000	1,070 "	9,000
10,000	"	12,000	1,240 "	10,000
12,000 and over			1,600 "	12,000

These rates are applicable to wage and salary earners with two dependents. For those without any dependents, the tax is increased by 40 percent; for those with one dependent by 20 percent. On the other hand, those with three dependents pay 15 percent less; those with four dependents 30 percent less; those with five or more dependents 45 percent less. However, in any one case, the tax must not amount to less than 8 percent of income except for those earning less than 2,000 koruny per month (average industrial worker's monthly wage was 5,326 koruny in 1952). Almost all earnings are taxable.

Previous Computation

The previous method of income tax computation was entirely different. The tax was computed on a basis of income less deductions. Besides tax exemptions for dependents, overtime work and work performance rewards were exempted, as were family allowances, Christmas bonuses, initiative rewards and employer's contributions to national

insurance and factory mess services. The tax rates themselves were progressive. They ranged from 2.7 to 85 percent of taxable income. This favored those workers who enjoyed most of the tax exemptions. Jaroslav Kabes, Minister of Finance, wrote in the same issue of *Prace*: "In the past, an employee whose total monthly earnings, including rewards for higher work performance, exceeded 20,000 koruny, did not pay more than 77 koruny income tax, whereas another employee whose identical earnings were fully taxed, paid 6,000 koruny."

Income tax under the new system includes the employee's contribution to national insurance which formerly amounted to 8.9 percent of total earnings.

"On the whole," Minister Kabes continued, "this change . . . will mean an increase of the tax burden in some categories." However, he did not say that other categories will benefit from it. On the contrary, "one of the consequences of the new . . . income tax rates will be a decrease in the tax burden on office workers with high gross salaries. . . . Therefore, the government will be authorized to adjust these salaries so that net incomes will not be higher than at present."

Another new act concerns income taxes paid by the few remaining businessmen and self-employed persons. The self-employed (physicians, shop owners, etc.) pay 5 to 80 percent of their annual income (basis: 15,000 to over 500,000 koruny respectively). The rate is so construed that, up to 24,000 koruny, it almost equals rates applicable to wage and salary earners in that income bracket. Businessmen who employ other persons pay a 6 to 90 percent tax on their annual income (basis: same as above). Tax free minimums are 12,000 koruny per year for the self-employed, 9,000 koruny for businessmen. In addition, all businessmen pay another new tax: the business tax. Rates vary according to the solvency and development possibilities of the business as well as the number of persons employed.

Units of the nationalized economy will pay the newly instituted turnover tax. It replaces the former general tax, and constitutes the difference between wholesale and retail prices, together with the State trade handling mark-up. It is the chief source of capital for the State and is collected from the sales offices of production enterprises. On goods (otherwise rationed) sold in government free market stores, it is collected on the wholesale level.

Agricultural Levies

Changes made in the agricultural tax are also important. The 1948 agricultural tax was rather mild—only about 10 percent of the farmers actually paid it—and was not designed to help collectivize the countryside. According to the new tax act, only about 10 percent will be exempt (in consequence of low proceeds), and most small and medium farmers will pay approximately the same as wage and salary earners, the rates varying from 2 to 40 percent of taxable income.

The Czech Home Service announced further details:

"The new tax is necessary because major changes have

taken place in the country. New factories are being built and agriculture has to cope with increased tasks. The only way to master this situation is to introduce higher forms of husbandry, i.e. cooperative farming. The State is spending almost 3 billion koruny on improvements in agricultural production.

"It is a just tax. Its rates are laid down so that incomes from agriculture are affected equally.

"It will be applied on the basis of yield norms per hectare of land in individual regions. These norms will be adjusted by the Government every year. Members of cooperatives, particularly those of the third and fourth type [see page 40], will pay only one percent of their income, as compared with approximately two percent to be paid by private farmers. In the case of members of cooperatives of the third and fourth type, income received from the cooperative for units worked will be exempt altogether. Farmer's cooperatives of the first and second type will be taxed only for land not received from their members. Members of such cooperatives will themselves pay a tax for land transferred by them to the cooperative.

"The new tax will only hit sharply at the village rich. In their case, national committees are entitled to raise the rates of taxation up to 30 percent."

The tax free minimum is 15,000 koruny per year.

Another new measure sets the tax paid by cooperatives other than agricultural, including the last remnants of stock corporations. The rates vary from 10 to 20 percent for voluntary associations, 40 to 60 percent for cooperatives, and 75 to 90 percent for corporations, computed from annual income.

Landlords are also subject to a new tax. Its rates amount to 45 percent of gross income from rents if under 30,000 koruny per year, and 50 percent on the amount in excess. A landlord receiving more than 15,000 koruny per year in rents, has to deposit all receipts in the State bank which deducts the tax, and sets aside another 30 percent in a special account from which only repair bills can be paid.

The new entertainment tax taxes receipts by 5 to 10 percent (state theatres excepted). The highest rate is applied to dancing parties.

Polish Land Tax

The Polish *Journal of Laws* No. 2, pos. 215, July 21, 1952, contains a bill, dealing with the revision of the land tax in which the whole country is divided into three economic regions. Each region, excepting the first, is subdivided into four areas: town, sub-town, countryside, remote country-side, and (in the case of the first region) sub-city. Within each area, the land is divided into six classes, according to the quality and kind of soil. For each class of land in each area of every region, the estimated income from one hectare is calculated in zlotys.

A comparison of the estimated income for 1952 with that of 1951, shows a very considerable increase for 1952. For example, in 1951, the taxable income from one hectare of arable land situated in a countryside area of the first region, was estimated at 1,530 zlotys. In 1952, the estimated income from the same area was given as 2,450 zlotys. One

hectare of pasture in a suburban area of the second region had an estimated income of 720 zlotys in 1951. In 1952, the same area, according to the new law, is shown as having an income of 1,150 zlotys—a considerable increase in both cases.

As the yield per hectare in 1952 was not much bigger than in 1951, and the prices paid to the peasants for grain and other agricultural products by the government did not change, this increase hardly seems justified.

The increase in taxable income is not the only feature of the new land tax bill. Taxes are assessed for the peasants not only on the basis of the estimated income from one hectare of land, according to its location and classification, but also on the size of their individual holdings. As in 1951, the principle of graduated rates is applied. However, the 1951 scale ran from 3 to 25 percent of the estimated income while the new bill provides for a minimum rate of 6 percent of estimated income and a maximum rate of 48 percent—almost double for both the poorest and wealthiest peasants. If we take into consideration that the estimated income from one hectare has also been considerably raised, the increase in taxes according to the size of the holding appears even greater.

The bill is clearly designed to ruin the so-called "kulaks". Those who cannot pay the new taxes in full can be dispossessed by the State and their land turned over to the kolkhozes.

New Hungarian Ministry

Since February 1, 1952, a new Ministry has been functioning in Hungary; the so-called Ministry of Medium Machine Industry. It is situated in the building of the former National Center Credit Institute at 7 Teleki Pal Street, Budapest, with Mihaly Zsofinyec in charge. The deputy of Minister Zsofinyec is Ferenc Biro, younger brother of Matyas Rakosi. The unassuming title of Ministry of Medium Machine Industry is only a subterfuge, for an organization known as The Central Organization of Hungarian War Production.

A recent escapee from Hungary, gives the following description of the Center:

"Actually it was the heavy industry department of the Ministry of Smelting and Machine Industry which was expanded into this separate Ministry of Medium Machine Industry. The former department was situated on the third floor of the building at 5-6 Szabadsagter where it had been operating from the summer of 1948 until the spring of 1951, headed by Department Chief Weller and later on by a young Communist named Kovari. The latter established a perfect spy system among the workers. The whole department was strictly separated from the rest of the building by iron gates, the windows were protected with iron bars, and the employees were under special strict supervision.

"In the spring of 1951, the political police started an extensive investigation because of various instances of indiscretion, and approximately 250 of the total 300 employees were dismissed. Some of them were arrested.

"In addition to the original heavy industry department, departments of planning, production, investment, supply, development, statistics, bookkeeping and super-

vision were established to create the new Ministry of Medium Machine Industry, where security measures are stricter than ever. Heavy bars have been mounted on all windows and the large hall of the building has been separated by an iron gate moving on tracks, which is opened only wide enough to permit the passage of one person during working hours. Every person entering the building is searched for weapons, explosives or bombs. Despite the fact that the production of these articles is under the jurisdiction of this Ministry, no such objects are ever permitted to enter the building not even for the purpose of examination or discussion. All experiments, discussions or demonstration concerning explosives must take place in the production plants. Even food transport utensils are securely locked before entering or leaving the building in order to prevent the bringing in of undesirable objects or the taking out of plans or documents.

"The most important department of the Ministry is the Soviet-Russian Secretariat, which directs and controls Hungarian war production.

War Production

"Those plants which produce finished fire arms, tanks, armoured trains and explosives come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Medium Machine Industry. The plants have been numbered and, in the course of official contact, they are referred to by their numbers only. There are approximately 1,300 plants under this Ministry, all of which produce finished or semi-finished goods.

"Among these plants is the Csepel Automobil factory, situated 13 kilometers south of Csepel at Szigetszentmiklos. The factory employs about 10,000 workers. Mrs. Ferenc Biro, wife of the Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary, is the manager of the plant, which mainly produces five-ton military trucks and other military cars designed for troop transportation.

"The Hungarian freight car and machine factory at Györ, employing more than 12,000 workers, produces pullman coaches, trucks and gun carriages. In addition this plant produces unusually hard steel, mainly used in armoured plating.

"A few independent parts of the Matyas Rakosi plant at Csepel produce pistols and military rifles with cartridge drums. Janos Mekis is the manager of the Rakosi plant. The Lampart Plant, 27 Gergely Street, Budapest, produces approximately 500 revolvers and 500 normal army rifles a day.

"The Ganz Electric Appliances Plant manufactures all the electric motors and installations used in airplanes made in Hungary. The parts are installed at the Matyasfold airfield by the Ikarus Conveyance and Chassis Manufacturing Company.

"The branches called Asia and Africa of the Dimavag machine factory at Diosgyor, manufacture infantry and anti-aircraft ammunition of various calibres as well as tanks, guns and heavy machine guns.

"The largest part of the explosives plant at Sajobabony is built underground. This factory produces ammunition, heavy machine guns, mitrailleuse, munition for the use of anti-aircraft artillery, mines, hand grenades and guided missiles. This factory has a branch at Fuzfo on Lake Balaton."

IV. COMMUNICATIONS

In Romania, telephone and telegraph services are controlled by the government or by the Soviet Union. Many telephone and telegraph lines, such as those linking Bucharest with Sofia (through Giurgiu), were taken over by representatives of Soviet military forces in Romania and Bulgaria, in May 1951. The lines of persons under suspicion are under constant surveillance. Occasional control is exercised over telephone conversations of all citizens. At present, few persons who are not public officials still possess private telephones. Their phones were taken over because they were needed in public institutions, or because they could no longer afford to pay for them.

The State Railways have their own telephone and telegraph services. Since 1929, railways have been operated by an independent agency subject to government supervision. In 1948, the Railway Administration became a branch of the Ministry of Communications and all independent control was cancelled.

Telegrams are divided into three groups, according to their importance: ordinary, urgent, and top-urgent (flash). The third group are reportedly used exclusively by the Russians for the control of military and oil-tanker trains. Cables for military purposes are in code and entrusted only to Party members. Ordinary cables are sent from the post offices, which combine mail and telegrams services. They are seldom sent abroad.

Mail censorship is very strict in Romania. Mail to various places within the country is generally read only if the addressee is suspect. However, because there are thousands of people under suspicion, this makes for rather widespread censorship. Mail going abroad or coming from abroad is under strict control. Until 1951, when a letter coming from abroad seemed to contain important information, it was photostated and a copy kept in a file on the addressee, who was then considered suspect, after which the letter was delivered. Since July 1951, an addressee, on receiving a letter from abroad, must fill out a form with his name and the number of his identity card (showing his photograph) before getting his letter. According to several refugee reports, there is a special foreign correspondence censorship department in a building in Bucharest, where there is a separate file kept on each citizen who corresponds with the Western countries.

Writing Abroad

Lately, a new system was inaugurated in Bucharest so that now only three post offices handle foreign correspondence. Persons writing abroad must fill out special forms giving the names, professions and relationships of their correspondents. Recent reports indicate that no person may send more than 3 or 4 letters annually no matter how many relatives he has living abroad. Further confirmation has recently been provided by many people who formerly received monthly letters from relatives in Romania and now have not received word since early summer. Mail from other countries may be received only once monthly and all foreign mail is routed through a few special post offices assigned to

censoring it. Parcel post which is not registered seldom reaches its destination, and registered parcel post (up to 4 lbs. 6 oz.) may only contain medicines. The State customs withholds 15 to 25 percent of goods received without compensation. The person to whom the parcels are directed requires a special medical certificate, stating that he needs the medicines in the parcel. If he cannot prove that he needs them, the whole parcel is confiscated. Even when complying with all these regulations, senders find many parcels are returned.

A similar situation exists in Bulgaria. According to recent reports, those wishing to write persons abroad must submit detailed information concerning the person to whom the letter is being sent and the exact nature of the correspondence.

A file on all citizens writing abroad is being set up by the police and every letter must be submitted personally, and unsealed, to an official censor.

Many Bulgarians have recently written their relatives and friends overseas urging them to stop sending gifts and parcels because of high duties, non-delivery, or confiscation.

Censored Conversations

As the result of reorganization this spring, mail, telephone, and telegraph service in Czechoslovakia are now administered by the Ministry of Communications. According to the Government Ordinance of April 8, the Ministry covers "all branches of communication services designed for public use (mail, telephone, telegraph), . . . technical broadcasting and television equipment . . ."

The problems which the Ministry faces are by no means only technical. It also has to safeguard the State against the possible use of communications for subversive activity. Long-distance telephone switchboards are manned by personnel capable of censoring conversations, and similar service is on hand at local automatic exchanges. Recently, another measure was taken to ensure control of mail. According to a correspondent:

"By the end of August, direct mail delivery was discontinued in most districts of Prague. Since then, the mailman delivers the mail for the whole house to the superintendent who is responsible for delivery to the tenants. It is also known that many superintendents are required to maintain observation books where information of potential interest to the government is entered. . . . In a circular to Party-member superintendents, the city council of the Communist Party stated that 'the new method of mail delivery provides a regular check on the incoming mail of tenants.'"

A recent refugee, a 40-year-old photographer, told of the censorship of foreign mail in post offices: "All letters and postcards coming from abroad—including the Soviet Union and the captive countries—are examined, and those picked out are recorded on microfilm. Twice a week, a committee of censors meets to decide what photographed material should be handed over to security agencies."

The net of communications within the Soviet bloc is being improved to foster economic cooperation. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), September 4, announced:

"Yesterday, the operation of direct radio-telephone connections between Prague and Peking was inaugurated . . . [On opening the communications], the Minister of Communications, Dr. Alois Neuman, addressed [his Chinese colleague] in Chinese . . . To establish this communication, the most powerful Czechoslovak telephone transmitters had to be used, together with special receivers and many other complicated mechanisms which automatically regulate the intensity of the sound and eliminate every possibility of any echoes or other defects."

On November 3, Budapest's Radio Kossuth announced that the one hundred thousandth telephonic radio receiving set had been installed, with appropriate ceremony, in Hungary:

"Telephonic radio now operates in 230 cities and villages. The one hundred thousandth set is being installed today in Dunavecse, on the banks of the Danube opposite Szatlinvaros. . . .

"In the past only a few of the villagers had radio sets—the village clerk and the land-owners. Now, the Hungarian radio can be heard on every street corner. The Hungarian Post Office started installing telephonic radios three years ago and by 1951, there were 45,000 receiving sets in the country. We have now installed the one hundred thousandth set and by Comrade Stalin's birthday [December 21] we plan to increase the number of subscribers to 150,000."

A refugee Hungarian postal official relates:

"A new telegraph line has been established between Budapest and the Carpatho-Ukrainian Soviet frontier town of Csap. The line touches Szeged, Szolnok, Debrecen and Nyiregyhaza, and is absolutely independent of all other existing communications. A direct line between Budapest and Moscow has also been established."

And Radio Sofia announced on October 8: "Beginning yesterday, a direct telephone communication has been set up between Sofia and Moscow. Service will be on a twenty-four hour basis."

Telephone communication between Communist China and Bulgaria is carried out via Moscow.

Transportation Congress

In Hungary, the Budapest daily *Magyar Nemzet* wrote in its November 21, 1952 issue:

"The first International Transportation Congress, held in the Hungarian Academy of Science, was concluded on November 20. . . . The delegates of the German Democratic Republic and the Romanian People's Republic took particularly active part in the discussions. . . . An important suggestion was made by the representatives of the railway workers concerning the modernization of construction methods and the mechanization of track maintenance. . . . [which was seconded by the road builders representative who also urged] the adoption of a method to improve the supply of equipment based on the experience and superior achievement of the Soviet Union.

"Both representatives agreed on continuing the exchange of experience and technique between the Soviet

Union and other friendly nations. . . . It has been decided that an Institute for the maintenance of communication routes based on the Soviet pattern must be established. . . . The Congress further declared that within a short time, Hungary and the neighboring People's Democracies will have one of the most highly developed highway systems in Europe."

The Albanian Radio Tirana, December 22, 1952, broadcast news of the opening of the new Drita highway:

"The Drita highway is very important in the building of the Enver Hydro-electric Station because it will allow the transportation of materials, machinery, etc., from the Soviet Union and all parts of the country. The extension of this road in 1953 to the Bulqze Chromium Mine, will increase the economic importance of our country because it will shorten the distance to the mine by more than 20 kilometers. It will also improve the economic and cultural situation in those villages through which it passes. . . ."

And Radio Sofia, December 21, 1952, described the opening of the Sub-Balkan railway. Prime Minister Vulko Chervenkov delivered a speech in which he said:

"This is the newest offspring of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. The line will link our capital [Sofia] directly with the Black Sea ports of Bourgas and Stalin [formerly Varna] and has been built to ease the traffic on the main railway lines in the south and north. . . . Let us express our boundless gratitude to the Soviet government and to Comrade Stalin personally for their incalculable assistance in building Socialism in our country. . . ."

Polish River Projects

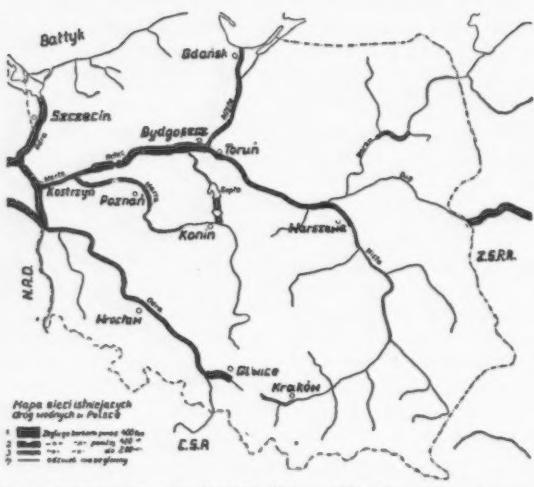
As reported by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), November 18, 1952, the first session of the Committee on Hydro-economy, a body consisting of members of the Polish Academy of Science, was held in Warsaw:

"Vice-premier Jedrychowski stated that the government has deemed it necessary to approach the Polish Academy of Science with the proposition of forming a Committee on Hydro-economy whose job it would be to work out a general plan covering every aspect of the problem. They are to submit detailed plans for the Vislula River Project by 1955, so that the appropriate bureaus may begin to prepare construction plans."

As regards the program itself, Jedrychowski said:

"The Polish nation is now confronted with the great task of reconstructing its hydro-economy—of transforming the nature of our country. It is impossible to lift up our country from its centuries-old backwardness if we do not conquer in all fields of hydro-economy, particularly in those of agriculture, water transportation, and water power. . . . The present contribution of hydroelectric plants to the entire production of electricity amounts to only six percent. . . . The backwardness of our water transportation system may be best seen when compared with the entire transportation set-up; it amounts to only one percent, whereas in other countries which have developed their water transportation,

Map of the Existing Waterways



Stan obecny: uzupełnienie poza odcinkiem Odry — nikt, wykorzystanie energetyczne — minimalne

- 1—Waterways capable of carrying barges over 400 tons
- 2—“ “ “ “ below 400 tons
- 3—“ “ “ “ up to 200 tons
- 4—Unnavigable waters

From *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw) September 18, 1952

it accounts for 25 to 33 1/3 percent of the total volume of transportation. In view of this fact, our railroad system is too heavily burdened . . . our main river, the Vistula, still remains only half-widened. . . .

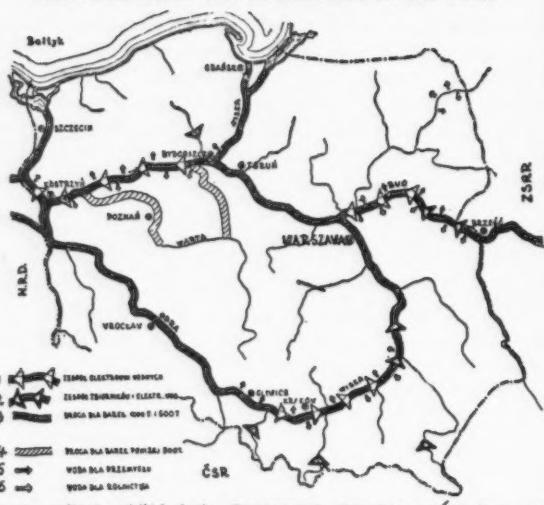
"The problem of utilizing our water supply in the development of agriculture has not yet been posed either theoretically or in practice. . . . Every year our agriculture, roads and railroads, as well as whole communities suffer great damage which often attains almost catastrophic dimensions [due to floods]."

"The Vistula River is the greatest potential source of water power in the country. Without solving the Vistula problem, Poland cannot introduce a uniform system of water transportation. . . . Finding a solution . . . will contribute greatly to the development of water power in Cracow, Kielce, Lublin and Warsaw—the most densely populated areas in Poland."

"Parallel to the Vistula project runs the question of connecting that river with the Oder by means of a channel in the upper part of the river. This would facilitate the joining of our entire river system, would open up the shortest water route between Silesia and the Soviet Union, and would solve the Silesian water supply problem. . . .

"There are other problems which can and must be solved prior to the Vistula River project. . . . Work has already begun on the Bug River project. This is closely connected with the deepening of the Vistula from Modlin to Brdyujście on the Noteć River in the lower part of Warta, as well as with the construction of several

Situation After the Realization of the Plan



Stan po realizacji wielkich planów. Rozmieszczenie zbiorników wodnych i hydrocentral — orientacyjne, według obecnego stanu projektów

- 1—Waterpower stations
- 2—Water reservoirs with waterpower stations
- 3—Waterways capable of carrying barges from 600 to 1,000 tons
- 4—Waterways capable of carrying barges below 500 tons
- 5—Water for industrial use
- 6—Water for agriculture

electric power plants such as that on the Dunajec, not to mention the launching of large improvement projects along the valleys of smaller rivers and in marsh lands. . . .

"It is our great good fortune and privilege to be able to take advantage of the great theoretical and practical achievements of the Soviet Union and its direct technical help. This will permit us to utilize the newest achievements of science, to insure the most modern technology, and to introduce the most efficient mechanization. . . . For it is obvious that such a great undertaking cannot be realized with bare hands. . . ."

V. "SAVING FOR SOCIALISM"

Government attempts to control all capital in the captive countries are reflected in a continuous savings campaign designed to create funds for "building Socialism." The usual claims are made in the daily press and the usual pressures applied to the people, but many persons continue to attempt to accumulate whatever savings they can at home.

In Bulgaria, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Zdravko Milevski, declared in an editorial in *Rabotnickeskoe Delo* (Sofia), October 31, 1952, that:

"New plants and enterprises are being built. Our industry is growing. Our new cooperative agriculture is being supplied with machines. Now irrigation systems are being constructed. All this requires enormous finan-

cial resources. Over and above the profits accrued from our Socialist enterprises, which are being used to develop the country's economy, the people's funds are called upon to play an important role. These funds are being tapped through State Loans, the State Savings Bank and State Insurance Institutes. . . . The working people know that their money is being used to finance Socialist constructions . . . and yet is always available to them. . . .

"Since September 9, 1944, deposits have increased more than fivefold. The number of depositors is growing constantly. Before 1944, there were 1,752,000; in 1949 their number increased to 3,445,000 and this year they reached 4,269,700. . . . Our workers are particularly interested in what is called 'Worker's Savings.' During September, the number of depositors in this category increased almost twofold compared to 1950, while the amount saved increased almost threefold. . . .

"Party organizations must energetically support all initiative used to intensify savings activities. By constant development in savings let us insure ever growing funds for the building of Socialism."

Zemedelsko Zname (Sofia), November 13, 1952, further remarked:

"Among the branches of the State Savings Bank, the State Insurance Institute and the Post and Telegraph Offices, there is complete coordination with regard to the accumulation of savings. . . . All forms of agit-propaganda are used. . . . The campaign to increase worker and employee deposits has been successful—almost 93 percent . . . make their monthly deposits. Students' deposits are good. 40 percent of the students in the cities and 30 percent of those from the villages have begun to make deposits. . . ."

The Czechoslovak Home Service broadcast a talk by Dr. Otakar Pohl, Director General of the Czechoslovak State Bank, during "Savings Week" in which he said:

"So far, we have not learned to regard the creation of savings as a contribution to building Socialist economy. Many people are still of the opinion that there is no need to save . . . and that saving has become out of date.

"It is true that Socialism looks after every working person and his family in the event of illness, accident and old age. Nor do the people fear unemployment or neglect in case of disability. . . . [But] under Socialism, savings are a means of raising the standard of living. They are in no way a relic or a superfluity.

"Apart from personal considerations there are the considerations involved in the overall requirements of a Socialist society. We must learn to save not only . . . to satisfy some of our more expensive personal desires, but also to contribute to building Socialism. Premier Zapotocky expressly pointed to this fact when he said: 'We shall carry out the transformation of our national economy by our own work, means and savings.'

"I should like to use this opportunity to draw your attention to the fact that savings can only serve the building up of Socialism if all working people place their savings at the disposal of Socialist society; that is, if these savings are deposited in a bank. This is still not realized by many people who continue to keep their savings at home. They do not realize their own mistake."

Savings Plans

"Savings Deposits," as they are referred to in the Decrees and Orders of the Albanian "People's Republic," were instituted during the first six months of 1948. Accounts were guaranteed and every one was free to make withdrawals at will; deposits were exempt from taxation; and no one could open an account with less than 250 leks (8.5 dollars). Later, Communist Party organs took over the job stating that, "Saving our money means serving our People's Republic and our future," and that there was "no age limit or minimum for savings accounts. Everyone able to participate may do so." A "Central Organ of Savings Deposits" to "take care of the accumulation of the financial means of the people and to promote State Loans" was created in the State Bank. Interest is no longer paid on deposits with the exception of annual lotteries which issue quite modest amounts. A representative of the "Savings Agency," helped by a Party "agitator" makes monthly or weekly calls to collect deposits on pay days. During the last fiscal year, deposits for State Loans amounted to as much as 15 percent of the Albanian Budget.

On June 9, 1952, the Albanian Telegraph Agency announced:

"Savings Deposits between January and April amounted to 169 percent more than during the same period of 1951. . . . During the first few months of this year, 12,750 new savings accounts were opened and 35 more Savings Banks are scheduled to open before the end of the year."

Reports from Hungary indicate that the "general savings plan" is being extended to individual houseblocks. Block Savings Wardens have been appointed to see to it that tenants buy sufficient quantities of "Savings Coupons." The average family is supposed to buy at least five *forints* worth of these coupons per month. Larger families are expected to purchase as much as 50 to 60 *forints* worth. Similar drives have been launched in schools, workshops and offices. These drives are independent of each other and compel the individual to buy several sets of coupons. The Block Wardens are aggressive and persistent because their jobs are considered "Party work" and they are required to pay for all unsold coupons out of their own pockets. It is considered "inadvisable" to return unsold coupons because this is considered "negligence in Party work."

And from Romania on January 23, Agerpress broadcast concerning the present state of bank deposits:

"Bucharest:—Under the regime of the People's Democracy, the number of . . . working people depositing their savings in the State Savings Bank has reached 1,578,098. . . . During the period from February to June 1952, deposits increased fivefold as compared with the same period of 1951. This growth testifies to the trust of the working people in the Romanian currency, consolidated by the reform and price reduction of January 28, 1952." (See March 1952 issue, p. 20)

Marx is the Muse

I. THE POWER OF RHETORIC

In captive Europe, a cultured man is defined as an individual well grounded in the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, conversant with the principles of dialectical materialism, and fluent in Russian. The history of world culture is available to him in its Soviet version and reduced to capsule form. All non-technical fields of knowledge are supplementary to the basic teachings of Stalin and Lenin and culture is dependent on its source and motivating power: politics. A cultured European Communist must take an active part in the building of the "Socialist" state. He is a spokesman in the battle of words, a leader in the program of art as propaganda.

Commenting on the opportunities which are open to the new intelligentsia of Bulgaria, *Literaturen Front* of Sofia wrote as follows on September 4, 1952:

"Day by day the intellectual workers of our republic note new achievements in building a culture which is Socialist in content and national in form. Soviet culture plays a significant part in this program. Soviet aid has also played and will continue to play a decisive role in building our Socialist culture.

"September 9, 1944 [date of Soviet coup] opened the doors to the Soviet Union, those doors which had been bolted by the chains of slavery, isolationism, the monarchy and the Fascist regime. A direct consequence of this was the wide and free admittance of Soviet books for our laboring people and progressive intelligentsia. Today, the Bulgarian reader has the opportunity of using Russian books, those standard bearers of the most progressive science, literature and art in the world. Our readers may study Lenin and Stalin in their original texts. They

may benefit by studying the works of Marx and Engels, rich in scientific commentary. Almost all Soviet art literature is translated and published in Bulgarian, some of it even in second editions. Hundreds of books on scientific, technical, economic and ideological subjects are translated into Bulgarian in order to serve as guidance for our Stakhanovites, time-study engineers, members of cooperatives and agitators. These books are a powerful weapon in the hands of the builders of Socialism in our country."

"In the beginning was the word . . ."

Is language base or superstructure? By answering that it was neither, Stalin modestly assumed the role of philologist and publicly entered a linguistic controversy which he may well have promoted in private. "I am not a linguist," he said, "and of course I cannot fully satisfy the comrades." Nevertheless, Stalin added: "As for Marxism in linguistics as well as other social sciences, I am directly concerned with this." He then propounded his theories on language at the expense of the late Soviet Academician, N. Ya Marr, previously considered the leading Marxian philologist. Marr had taught that "there is no such thing as a national language, really national that is, but there exists only a class language." He also affirmed that language was a superstructural phenomenon on a socio-economic base.

In contradicting Marr's theories Stalin stated that the confusion among linguists may have stemmed from Marx's "Holy Max" where he wrote that the bourgeois had his "own language and that this was the product of the bourgeoisie." Stalin pointed out that if certain comrades had quoted Marx as true Marxists, instead of as

pedants without looking into the essence of the matter, they would not have made the error of confusing language with superstructure and would have observed that Marx also referred to the ways in which a single national language is formed. Stalin's views, expressed in his own words, are: ". . . language differs radically from superstructure. Language is not generated by one base or another . . . but by the entire historic development of society. It is created not to meet the needs of any one class, but of the whole society."

This linguistic upheaval occurred in 1950 and its ramifications were felt in the Satellite as well as in the Soviet world. For instance, when Romania became a Communist state, Marr's theory was immediately accepted and all Romanian publications averred that language was a tool of the ruling classes. However, when Stalin repudiated Marrism and announced that language was simply a national tongue, common to all social classes of a nation, his declaration was heralded in the Satellite press as a stroke of genius. And the logical premise that: "language is a means through which people communicate among themselves" was received as a major philological discovery, hitherto unknown!

Apples of Discord

In Bulgaria, the linguistic conflict has covered a much broader field than philology alone. At the center of the controversy is philosophy professor, D. Mihalchev of the University of Sofia, an eminent pre-war intellectual. Professor Mihalchev submitted a manuscript to the Bulgarian Academy of Science for publication. His work was turned down for "fallacious reasoning" on philological problems, its author branded "an enemy of dialectical materialism" in a subsequent article. This article, written from the Communist viewpoint, was no doubt precipitated by Mihalchev's work as well as by a resurgence of idealist thought which the criticism implies. The following quotation from the July 1952 issue of the Sofia monthly *New Time* has been included because of the daring views held by the four professors it mentions. These men challenged the pragmatic approach of Communist logic, supporting instead the principle that "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen."

"N. Ya Marr's teaching on the separate stages of language and thought development permits the existence of various lines of thought. Despite Marr's criticism of Levi-Bruhl's* theory, he nonetheless played a considerable role in propagating this reactionary theory. In this concept Marr has sought confirmation of his own theory of separate stages in the development of language and thought.

"Comrade Stalin repudiated the non-Marxist premises of N. Ya Marr on these separate stages. This means that Levi-Bruhl's theory on the two stages of thinking is completely incorrect and reactionary. Marxist-Leninist theory repudiates the existence of two lines of reasoning. There is no pre-logical thinking. All peoples, whether they are more or less advanced, reason accord-

ing to the same laws and with the same mental processes. . . .

"Stalin's doctrine on language and thought gives us a sound basis for unmasking reactionary bourgeois philosophy, pedagogical thought and linguistics. . . .

"Professor D. Mihalchev is the chief exponent of bourgeois idealist philosophy in our country. . . . An enemy of dialectical materialism, he uses the bourgeois conceptions of language and thought to present the well-known philosophy of the German philosopher, Johannes Remke, and to fight against manifestations of materialist theory. In line with American and English imperialist philosophy, he equates logical and scientific work with grammatical work, thus identifying thought with language, logic with grammar. . . .

"On one hand Prof. Mihalchev identifies thought with language, while on the other he separates them because he supports the views of Remke, who says that there are thoughts which cannot be expressed with words. This view is idealistic. Thoughts emanate and exist only on the basis of linguistic expression. There are no thoughts which cannot be verbally expressed.

"Using the decadent philosophy of Remke, Prof. D. Mihalchev fights against science and materialism and espouses idealism and religion. . . . He defends the positions of today's reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie and the antiscientific views of religion which support contemporary American and English reaction. It is not accidental that Bulgarian theosophists widely use Remke's and Mihalchev's philosophy to prove the immortality of the soul and advocate faith in God.

"Prof. Kazaandiev in his text-book on psychology and logic also supports idealist views about language and thought. . . . Thus leading a fight against science and materialist epistemology and opening the door to subjectivism and religion. In his extremely reactionary book, *Faith and Knowledge*, he points out that faith is the basis of knowledge and does not recognize knowledge in which elements of faith do not exist. . . .

"The thinking of Professor Ivan Saruilev is also reactionary. . . . His theory on language and reasoning justifies religion and mysticism. . . . Professor Saruilev's philosophy, particularly his theory of language and thought, supports contemporary imperialist American and English reaction. Professor Geraskov and other representatives of the bourgeois pedagogic school of thought in our country also support bourgeois views on language and reason. . . ."

Word Mutation

An Hungarian lexicographer, who has lived under the Satellite regime in Budapest and who is now in a position to study Communist newspapers and publications available in the US, has reviewed recent changes in the Hungarian language. His report, a running commentary on word usage follows in paraphrased form:

In the early days of Soviet occupation Hungarians soon discovered that a basic Russian vocabulary was one of the best protections against the excesses of the Red Army. A few words of this basic Russian have remained in Hungarian usage. Especially those words whose meaning was so forcibly brought home that they carried a stronger

* Levy-Bruhl, French philosopher, died 1939.

impact than their Hungarian equivalents. *Davai*—to give or else, and *zabirai*—to loot in any manner, are typical examples.

By and large, Russian language instruction has been apathetically received, while a Party version of Hungarian, created by Communist newsmen and literati is fast becoming a part of the language by sheer weight of repetition. Party jargon is chiefly composed of Russian words and idioms literally translated. The creation of Hungarian analogues for Soviet expressions has given a Party slant to words with straightforward meanings. *Membership*, which merely meant belonging to an organization, now indicates a specialized status and superiority.

The word *party* has become an adjective. There is *party* science, *party* action, *party* attitude, a *party* slogan and so forth. This is especially ironic because *party* used as an adjective in Hungarian means *partial*, *biased*, *one who corrupts unity*. Such words as *contest*, *fight* and *struggle* are also part of the new Communist argot. Having assumed a supercharged emphasis, they now appear in almost every sentence even in connection with the most prosaic everyday occurrences.

The constant use of forceful and militant words is a characteristic common to both Communist and Nazi phraseology. Words like *destruction*, *annihilation*, *collapse*, *rotten*, *battle* and *war*, used in abundance, give a strangely aggressive tone to the Hungarian language. Such words as *cadre* and *brigade*, when describing any action performed by more than two people, illustrate militant word usage for the most peaceful events of daily life. Where the Nazis used scientific expressions in popularized form, the Communists prefer to translate industrial expressions into daily language thereby conveying the impression that their whole existence is but a phase of stepped-up production. *Rumble*, which in Hungarian is used to express the noise of a machine or train, is now the name of a new dance which has been introduced as an almost compulsory form for the expression of joy.

The Nazis coined words by merging two into one, producing such inaccurate expressions as *blood-soil* and *race-root*, words usually connected with their racist theories. Newly-coined Communist phrases are inspired by the spirit of class struggle and are equally inaccurate and revealing. The most often used are: *peace struggle*, *shockworker*, *class consciousness*, *class alien* and *class enemy*. *Class-enemy* is the Communist counterpart for the Nazi keyword *race-alien*.

Expressions and words originating in the West are being forcibly eliminated from the vocabulary and Russian words are replacing Hungarian ones. The French word *rayon*, for region, is an exception. Despite its Western origin, it is considered purified by its recent assimilation into Russian. Today, *rayon* is used to replace the thousand-year old Hungarian word *megye*. Every Russian word descriptive of Russian superiority and creativity must be used in its original form. This applies to such words as *combine*, as well as other words for Soviet "wonder" machines.

The typically Communist expression, which translated word for word reads *with face towards the Party*, and means *in the [Communist] Party spirit* is one of numerous Russian expressions now current in Hungary. This idiom is used in many connections—in the spirit of the peace struggle, in the spirit of increased production, etc.

The classics, formerly important in the development of Hungarian culture and taught in almost every high school, have now been eliminated from all school curricula. Even such vestiges of the classical influence which were expressed in the names of theaters, streets and buildings have been changed. Such proper names as *Palace*, *Savoy*, *Forum*, *Olympia* and *Phoenix* have completely vanished from the face of Budapest and were replaced by *Red Army*, *Voroshilov*, *Lenin*, *Marx*, *Moscow* and so forth. In conjunction with their claim that Communism is a movement of the people, the architects of Satellite culture emphasize everything which is of folk origin and stress the need to eliminate foreign influences. But the Soviet Union no longer falls in the foreign category.

Russian for the Poles

The advantages of learning Russian were illustrated by short sentimental anecdotes in an August 1952 issue of *Trybuna Ludu*, the Warsaw daily. Under the title "We Learn the Language of our Friends," the first vignette describes Bochenek, a worker who for a long time had contemplated the need for superior checking apparatuses to test injection pumps. Unable to read blueprints, how could he hope to fathom these mysteries? "But Bochenek didn't give up." One day in the library his attention was drawn to an article in a Soviet newspaper dealing with injection pumps. He hesitated no longer and promptly joined a Russian class. In a few months he knew enough Russian to study the necessary article and with this added skill he was able to make the needed efficiency changes on injection pumps. In this manner he saved the State thousands of *zlotys* and transformed himself from a mere worker to a "leading time-study expert."

In comparison to Bochenek's success the outcome illustrated in the next two examples seems anticlimactic. *Trybuna Ludu*, however, thought them worthy of mention. A Polish gardener learned Russian in order to assimilate the teaching of Michurin, that "wizard of horticulture." A precision locksmith at the Cracow cigarette factory who was considered proficient in repairing adding machines met an adding machine one day which stumped him. Already a student of Russian, he was overjoyed to find a Soviet book called—*Adding Machines*. As a result he wrote the following testimonial:

"There are no longer any secrets for me in the functioning and construction of various types of these machines. Now I can repair them more quickly and efficiently. I do not believe it is possible to find such clearly and concisely written books anywhere else in the world. By using these books I have been encouraged to further my professional education."

II. ART WITH A MESSAGE

Any artist living in Central or Eastern Europe today must equip himself with far more than an easel and paint brush. He must be well-versed in the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist canon. He must follow the Red Star of the Soviet Union. He must study the gospel of Socialist realism and finally he must not permit his work to be tainted by the sins of formalism, schematism, cosmopolitanism, naturalism or functionalism.

Alfred H. Barr Jr., the American expert on modern art, clarified these taboo "isms" in a recent article on the Soviet Union:

"Abstraction or stylization of form, idealism or fantasy of subject were anathematized with such terms as formalism, Western decadence, leftist estheticism, petty-bourgeois degeneracy. Even realism that was too honestly factual was damned as naturalism. To practise these vices was to risk denunciation, isolation and starvation. To defend them involved more overt dangers."

The nature of Communist art was clearly and candidly defined by Stanislaw Teisseyre, a prominent Polish painter, when he said: "The decisive factor in judging an artist's work is not its esthetic value, but the social function it may perform. That is the chief goal of our present Socialist art." A Bulgarian newspaper expressed the same sentiment but gave it a slightly different emphasis. Writing on contemporary and classic paintings, *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia) said: "Art collections are studied and then given ideological explanations based on Marxist principles."

The subordination of art to political expediency at a recent art exhibition was superbly understated by *Magyar Nemzet* of Budapest. Commenting favorably on the contributing artists' choice of subjects, the reviewer concluded with these words: "They have chosen dynamic subjects and portrayed them in an understandable manner. Their next step should be to reach a higher artistic level."

Slanskyism in Art

Czech artists who turned to the Artists' Union last summer for Party guidance may have been startled to hear the Union excommunicated and denounced as exerting a pernicious influence on the community. *Literarni Noviny*, the Communist cultural weekly, clarified the matter by explaining that the Union had been infiltrated by Slanskyist elements and that its Secretary-General was a self-styled arbiter of the arts, a petty dictator responsible for having created an atmosphere of "insecurity, pressure, bitterness and fear in which no creative work could thrive."

Literarni Noviny then described the conditions it considered conducive to creative art. First of all, as quoted in the issue of July 5, 1952:

"... the program for our art is clear. . . . It is founded on the works of the Russian revolutionary democrats and expressed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, as well as by the statements of Zhdanov, Mao-Tse-Tung, Comrade Gottwald . . . (etc.)"



Paleta naturalisty. rys. Baro

The naturalistic palette

From *Szpilki* (Warsaw), December 21-28, 1952

A few days later on July 12, Deputy Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences Pavlasek enlarged on the functions of the reorganized Artists' Union:

"The foremost ideological task of the Czechoslovak Artists' Union is to fight for Socialist realism which is the basic precept of Czechoslovak art and in the spirit of the Ninth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. . . . An equally important task is to fight against outmoded expressions of formalism, naturalism, functionalism and cosmopolitanism, schematism and dogmatism as well as against vulgar elements. . . ."

"In their entirety the principles laid down by the Ninth Party Congress form the basis of the cultural and political line to be followed by free creative artists."

Some time ago Czechoslovak Minister Kopecky gave warning to eager disciples of Socialist realism. Although his statement was addressed to poets it surely received the attention of artists in all fields. The following was quoted in the July 5 issue of last year's *Literarni Noviny*:

"It seems as if they [the poets] intended to carry the Socialist realism line . . . ad absurdum. They assume that it is sufficient to join, without any form or harmony, currently used words such as *shockworkers*, *brigades*, *conferences*, *national committees*, *washing machines*, *tractors*, *combines*, etc. . . . and then call such a creation poetry, poetry with a trend, poetry in the Socialist spirit.

"Socialist realism however . . . wants art to be, as is science, the highly intellectual way of interpreting reality—reality of life, of nature, of the processes of existence, including the interpretation of sensual and emotional phenomena. . . ."

Any artist, however, who attempts to portray "sensual

and emotional phenomena" must do so cautiously or he will be branded a "naturalist." Naturalism which is akin to crudity or which tends to be over-graphic is not permitted. Naturalism akin to "true Communist realism" is commended.

Collective Painting

An art student at the Charles University of Prague who recently escaped has reported on a system of painters' collectives which is being established in Czechoslovakia. Dr. Stoll, a 35-year-old lecturer, is one of the chief advocates and teachers of this method, which requires him to travel frequently to the USSR to bring back the true techniques of proletarian art.

When a painters' collective receives an order, a members' meeting is immediately called. A detailed discussion of how the painting will be done takes place. At a subsequent meeting each member brings a sketch representing his concept of the plan for the finished work, which he proceeds to defend. Each sketch is reviewed and a majority vote decides which will be adopted. The winning sketch is then photographed one print going to each artist. Then the work begins. First a "background" specialist goes to work, then another who specializes in clouds, a building expert, and then perhaps an expert in portraiture until the "masterwork" is finished.

Current Art

During the month of December 1952, three major art exhibitions were held in captive Europe: the Third Hungarian Fine Arts Exhibition, the Third Polish Plastic Art Exhibition, and the Twenty-Second General Exhibition of Bulgarian Art. The persuasiveness of its political message was the yardstick by which each one of these exhibitions was judged. Stanislaw Teisseyre, jury chairman at the Polish exhibition, which included painting as well as sculpture, described the assiduous manner in which he and other jurors reviewed each work. If a painting showed that its artist had "remained too long under the influence of the erroneous past, but was now doing his best to grasp his true mission, we felt we should be lenient in our judgments and grant him the benefit of more time." Critics were less leniently inclined, however, towards those artists who, though they once followed the prescribed line, were now consciously disregarding it.

Mr. Teisseyre reminded artists that the building of Socialism committed each one of them to share in its responsibilities. Every artistic work must have ideological content, theme, and form. "We must not strive merely for improved artistic techniques but rather measure our achievements on the basis of the art's ideological content."

In Budapest, *Magyar Nemzet*, the leading Communist daily, credited the Hungarian exhibition with having shown how well national artists had accepted the challenge of the Five Year Plan. "Our painters are following the road of Socialist realism not merely superficially, but profoundly." Significant entries were described thus:

"... There is a Rakosi portrait by Csak-Maronyak, depicting our beloved leader in an even friendlier pose

than in previous pictures. . . . 'The Execution of the Szekszard Directorate' [early Communist leaders] illustrates the martyrdom of those young Communists with touching reality. . . . The impressive canvas called 'We report to you, our beloved Comrade Rakosi,' by Jeno Benedek, brings large groups of working people to life. The 'Honvek Studio' artists exhibited several paintings expressing the ideals of the new patriotism, the militant determination of the People's Army to defend the country and similar patriotic subjects."

The Stalin Centerpiece

According to press reports, the opening of the Bulgarian art exhibit was a grand affair attended by members of the Council of Ministers "well known social and cultural pioneers," artists and workers. The display included graphic and plastic arts, supplemented by theatrical and movie decorations. The most significant feature of the exhibition according to *Narodna Mladej*, the official organ of the Bulgarian Communist youth association, was the "portrayal of freedom in its struggle with capitalism and Fascism." *Narodna Mladej* continued with a description of the Sofia Art Gallery:

"In the center of the gallery there is a magnificent sculptural group representing 'Stalin Among the Pioneers.' . . . Here, the visitor stops for a long time overcome with excitement and genuine love for the great friend to all children and working people—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. Paintings and sculptural works showing the leaders of our country . . . are arranged around the [Stalin] group. They include such personalities as Georgi Dimitrov, Vasil Kolarov and Vulko Chervenkov. . . . There are many paintings which show the life of our new Socialist villages, our beautiful scenery, the building of dams, plants and electrical works. All these pictures bespeak peace, happy times, and a future welfare based on our friendship with the great Soviet Union."

No More Esthetes

An interesting man to watch in the interplay of Polish political personalities is Wladzimir Sokorski, who was promoted a few months ago from Vice-Minister of Culture and Art to full Minister. Whenever there is an important exhibition Mr. Sokorski is on hand to give the Communist interpretation of its significance. In 1950, he was rewarded for writing on cultural changes in Poland by having his article reprinted in the Moscow paper, *Soviet Arts*. Recently, Minister Sokorski wrote an article entitled, "Towards a Higher Ideological and Artistic Quality in Polish Painting and Sculpture." Published December 19, 1952 in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), it was in the nature of an official blueprint of "musts" for Polish artists.

"Many important events have taken place during the past year—including transformations in the domain of art. We have carried on a successful struggle against representationalism and schematism, those peculiar sisters of formalism and naturalism. Comrade Malenkov's theses, presented at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow, contributed decisively toward our striving for a clear, Marxist interpretation of esthetics (and art)

From the Polish Exhibition of Visual Arts



1. "Dammit, they won't accept it."



2. "But perhaps?" (On the canvas he paints the words:
The Tribune of Freedom)

From *Szpilki* (Warsaw), December 21-28, 1952

Propaganda Quotient

Art as an efficacious means of propaganda is the subject of constant reference in the Satellite press. The resolution passed at the 1952 convention of the Hungarian Artists' and Handicraftsmen's Association illustrates this point:

"Under the competent guidance of the Hungarian Workers' Party the valuable assistance of our People's Republic and the beneficial effect of the Soviet example, our artists have become increasingly capable of adjusting their artistic activities to the interests of the working classes. They are better qualified to take part in the education and enlightenment of the working masses. . . ."

"In order to raise the artistic standard of works of art, it is necessary to intensify the ideological awareness of the artists. . . . We must continue our fight against the remnants of bourgeois ideology and imperialist cosmopolitanism."

News from the Baltic countries indicates that their artists need to brush up on "ideological awareness" too. Despite their closer incorporation with the Soviet Union, it seems that Baltic artists have not adhered to the principles of Socialist realism, which Minister Sokorski of Poland has described as the process of choosing basic events from life and portraying them in the light of their idealistic content. Reporting on a conference of Lithuanian artists, *Soviet Art* wrote:

"Despite the unanimous motion agreed upon that art is deeply indebted to the nation, the major changes in the life of the Republic, the flourishing of Socialist culture and the development of a new man were not reflected in the paintings."

"The value of every work of art depends on its creator's social, political, ideological and artistic attitude to life. Any individual approach to art which does not include all these aspects will be fruitless.

"The majority of (our) artists have gradually managed to overcome and renounce a schematic perception of reality, its naturalistic, photographic-like interpretation, and to adopt their own, personal attitude to our life's phenomena. The (recent) Exhibition gives testimony to . . . this search of our artists for the correct ideological and artistic forms of expression.

"It must be frankly admitted that this struggle for attaining the right quality of work, for creating the correct 'realistic' workshop, for destroying our schematic tendencies, has been interpreted by some artists and critics as a *laissez faire* attitude under which remnant anti-realist tendencies may flourish. We need a great variety of themes as well as a great variety of individual styles in our art. We must have a wide scope of social and political subjects. We need landscapes, portraits, still lifes; themes from sport, school, and purely personal life. The mere ability to choose from this profusion of themes does not permit us, however, to adopt the attitude of an esthete. It forbids us to create 'formalistically,' omitting natural, realistic means of expression. A work of art must express the essence of a subject or of an idea. . . .

"An anti-realist attitude which is being expressed by post-impressionists presents us with a serious problem. This is evident in certain exhibited works. It should be clear enough for anyone to see that post-impressionism does not lead to Socialist realism. Furthermore, this attitude when expressed by the more experienced artists creates confusion and chaos among the ranks of younger artists, who have shown some talent. . . ."

"During the past two years Lithuanian painters have not only failed to solidify their earlier gains, but they have slackened their efforts and created no outstanding new work. Artists are still dominated by the non-conflict theory, and the influence of naturalism and formalism is still strong."

This vein of criticism also permeated a Radio Riga broadcast on December 13, 1952. According to this program, partly based on an article in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, political education in the Riga Academy of Arts is not sufficiently effective. The works of graduating students suffer from formalism and a lack of expressiveness. Graduates are weakest in portraiture. A painting called "Grain Delivery to the Government" was the object of special scorn. "It shows an old shack, horses pulling a wagon, and expressionless, abject figures on a dirty road. That is all!"

"How it is possible for a student who has studied in a Soviet institution for six years to give such a performance?" Answering his own question the radio announcer concluded that a lack of political education at the Academy was the only explanation. Elaborating on the weaknesses at the Academy he continued as follows:

"Last spring students passed their examinations with low marks and 30 percent of the third grade students failed Dialectical Materialism. The faculty seems to overlook this. We know that political knowledge is essential for a student's success in serving the building of Communism.

"The 'History of Russian art' is poorly presented. Furthermore this important subject is infrequently scheduled, and some of the professors are poisoned by formal-

ism. Liberalism also flourishes at the Academy. Students have not grouped themselves into a friendly collective. There are few social activities and the Communist Youth Group has very few members and is not being enlarged. There are no discussions or lectures on social and political problems. The faculty does not criticize [these faults] as it should."

New Wine in Old Bottles

The Soviet practice of claiming deceased artists and geniuses from all fields of human endeavor as forerunners of Communism is now a recognized feature of their cultural life. This holds true for the Satellite areas as well. At the Bulgarian Institute of Fine Arts, ancient and classic collections are sifted with the purpose of using their "positive qualities" in the building of today's Socialist art. Hungary's chief ideologist and Minister of Culture referred to this practice in these words: "Not only do we note the appearance of new talents, but we note that the old masters were also captured by the beauties of our new form of life."

This type of piracy is also a means of cultural morale boosting. A Communist cultural leader seeks to multiply the ranks of Socialist realists by pointing out Communist-approved art techniques in the works of masters long since dead. *Ogonyok*, a popular illustrated Moscow weekly recently featured an article under the heading "Cracow Altarpiece Viewed as Realistic Art." Written by a Soviet cultural worker on tour in Poland, it presents a most favorable appraisal of the Cracow altarpiece by the 15th century Polish woodcarver, Wit Stwosz. To those of her



"What's a blind woman doing at the exhibition?"
"Oh, her? She's our art critic."

From *Dikobraz* (Prague) December 28, 1952.

readers who might be startled by such a lyrical description of a religious subject, the author points out that although commissioned by the Church, the sculptor was nonetheless able to execute "realistic works of great craftsmanship." Once "outside the dictates of the Church, a new, advanced, realistic view of the world appeared: the features of real democracy and folkways. . . . The composition as a whole expresses the triumph of the democratic epoch in art." The article noted, however, that where the sculpture showed purely clerical scenes, such as the crucifixion, "the realistic natural quality disappears" and instead one observes "typically Gothic, unreal poses." In conclusion, the author pays the familiar tribute to the government, in this case to the Polish Government, which allegedly allocated 12 million zlotys for the restoration of the altarpiece, a war casualty.

III. LEARNED SOCIETIES

Like the political systems of the USSR and the Satellite countries, the educational systems are monolithic. At the top of the pyramid, the Academy of Sciences, a super-institute, initiates and acts upon various academic programs. The Soviet Academy of Science comes directly under the Council of Ministers. It is divided into eight departments dealing with Physics and Mathematics, Chemistry, Geology and Geography, Biology, Technology, History and Philosophy, Economics and Law, Literature and Language. As of June 1949 the Soviet Academy maintained 51 committees and commissions, five research stations, seven museums, four observatories, 56 institutes and fifteen laboratories. During the year it published 39 scientific periodicals. Governed by a Presidium, the Academy provides for a combined membership of about 400 regular and associate members among whom two are honorary—Stalin and Molotov. Academy members are the deans of Soviet learning and science, the elite of Soviet intelligentsia. In view of its significant role in Communist cultural life, similar academies have mushroomed in the captive capitals of Europe.

The Polish Academy of Sciences was established by parliamentary decree in October 1952, closely patterned on its Soviet precursor. All important blueprints for scientific projects relating to Poland's economy and culture are worked out under Government guidance and implemented by the Academy, which due to its comprehensive powers is under constant Government supervision. In both Hungary and Bulgaria the old royal academies were reorganized according to the Soviet pattern with special emphasis on technological and industrial problems. In Romania, the Academy was completely reorganized in 1949, when it also became a centralizing organization in charge of institutes and laboratories. Its first Communist President, Professor Traian Savulescu, proclaimed at his investiture that the Academy would not follow a cosmopolitan line, but a nationalist one.

Czechoslovak Academy of Science

Following several abortive attempts in recent years to abolish existing Czechoslovak learned societies, the Com-

munist Party has now succeeded in so doing by establishing a new Academy of Science, patterned on the Soviet one. The new Academy will centralize Czechoslovak academic and scientific research. It will replace both the Royal Czechoslovak Scientific Society (founded in 1771) and the somewhat younger Academy of Arts and Sciences which held a reputation comparable to that of the ancient and famous Charles University of Prague. The bill establishing the Academy as a State institution received cabinet approval last summer and was guided through parliament by Frantisek Travnicek who declared that it would raise the caliber of Czech scientists, train new ones and become the center of theoretical and applied sciences.

A *Rude Pravo* article in July stated that the Academy was patterned after the nationwide Soviet Academy of Science both in its internal organization and overall objectives.

"Till now . . . science was fostered chiefly at universities. This method, typical of the capitalist system, resulted not only in the isolation of individual scientists, but also in general confusion contributing adversely to the development of science and society. The new Academy will end this state of capitalist anarchy. . . .

"Now that the Party and Government have created such favorable working conditions for [scientific research], it is up to our scientific workers to forge a public institution devoted entirely to serving the Republic and all working people (following the example of the Soviet Academy). . . .

"It will be a great honor for a worker to hold the title of full member or associate member. Certainly every scientist will endeavor to gain this right by patriotic work. . . ."

Pragmatic Workshop

Speaking over Radio Prague, last October, parliament member Travnicek and Deputy Premier Fierlinger informed the public on the scope of the Academy's activities. Premier Fierlinger stated that together with the elementary school law and the university law, the bill establishing the Academy is "the third main pillar" on which the renaissance of Socialist science and culture is based. Like its Soviet counterpart, the Academy will be a workshop rather than a representational body. According to Fierlinger the Academy's evolution into a practical working institution is the primary purpose for its creation and precedence over the old academies. The new Academy will take over existing scientific institutes and gradually found new ones. Each member will receive a salary enabling him to concentrate exclusively on his scientific work. Although Academy members may hold university posts, they will not be required to teach standard curriculum courses. Premier Fierlinger emphasized that due to its vital stake in the welfare of the Republic, "there can be no room in the Academy for enemies." He also recommended Stalin's work of genius *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* to scientists because it cleared up a number of obscure points and revealed new scientific principles and laws.

News Briefs

III Wind

Even the elements conspire with the regime to get out the vote for Communism in Bulgaria. Radio Sofia, in its December 15 report on the elections for the People's Councils, declared:

"Many families have come to vote, bringing their children along. It was especially touching to hear the children ask, 'Mama, Mama, what did you vote for—was it peace?' Three-year-old Svetla of Lozenetz began to sing when she heard that her parents had voted for peace, welfare and the happy future of all children . . . Even the sun, which pierced the fog in order to show the voters to the polls, and the wind, which whispered to them to vote for the Fatherland Front, are at work for the People's Democratic regime."

TV Appetizer

Rude Pravo (Prague), December 11, announced that television in Czechoslovakia is on the way, though only to lucky residents of one city district. The article said:

"Our scientists and technicians have, in six months, succeeded in preparing a television receiver for production. It is modeled after the Soviet set KVN-49. . . . Its size is 26 x 18 x 14 inches, with a 6 x 8-inch screen. First sets will be on sale as early as the second half of 1953. Reception will be possible within an 18-mile radius of the site of the television transmitter in Prague-Petrin."

Freedom Train: "No One Knew . . ."

Radio Prague, January 9, reported the conviction of eight persons tried before a Czechoslovak regional court for anti-State activities, including "participation in the so-called 'Freedom Train' conspiracy." Self-confessed leader Frantisek Silhart was condemned to death, and the other defendants were sentenced to prison terms varying from five years to life.

Jaroslav Konvalinka, the engineer who drove the Freedom Train past astonished guards on the German-Czechoslovak border in September 1951, declared in a statement to Radio Free Europe that none of the accused had had any part in the plan. Konvalinka said:

"I do not know anyone on the list of defendants and have never even met any of them. The prosecution's allegation that the escape of the 'Freedom Train' was instigated by American espionage agencies is a lie and an invention. The plan to cross the border with the train originated on September 9, 1951, when I learned of my impending arrest and that of my friends Karel Truksa [former railroad traffic manager] and Dr. Jaroslav Svec. The three of us planned the escape and it was my idea to take the whole train across the border. On September 11 we made good our escape. No one, I repeat, no one besides us knew of the plan. Even my wife and children were told only that we were going to visit a relative. The whole trial is a travesty of justice serving some obscure Communist aim which I fail to comprehend."

News Briefs

New Satellite Stations

Two new radio stations began operating in Hungary this month. According to Budapest press reports, one station opened January 10 at Györ, near the Austrian border, and the other at Pécs, near the Yugoslav border, on January 15. Western observers believe that these are the first in a chain of new stations to be constructed on the frontiers of the Satellite states to broadcast Cominform propaganda, give instructions to Communist parties outside the captive area, and jam Western programs.

Toy Experts

The fact that a child's toy "creates class consciousness just as does a book, play or film" is shown, says *Literarni Noviny* (Prague), November 29, by a current exposition devoted to Child and Toy at Prague's Center for Folklore and Art. The newspaper continued:

"... Both pictures and exhibits of samples give eloquent testimony about the work of the Consulting Commission for Toys, whose experts make sure that only good toys find their way into children's hands. In 1951/52, the Commission passed its judgment on 2,178 toys and turned down 26 percent of them. Even if one sees only a part of the approved toys at this exposition, everyone can grasp the principles guiding the Commission. New toys which can be bought now or which will be made in the future are a credit to the Creative and Ideological section of the Commission..."

Soviet Showboat

The Budapest daily *Szabad Nep*, December 11, announced the completion of the luxury liner *Maxim Gorki*, built by the Georghiu Dej (Budapest) shipyard for excursion travel by "workers of the Soviet Union" on the Volga-Don-Moscow river route. The newspaper devoted a long article to a lyric description of the new liner:

"The outside is magnificent, but the interior is unquestionably dazzling. Portraits of Maxim Gorki and other prominent personalities of the Soviet Union adorn the wood-panelled walls of the vestibule. From both sides of the long corridors open luxurious cabins furnished with velvet-covered beds, concealed closets, solid little tables and chairs, and attractive rugs and curtains. Radio loudspeakers are built into the bases of the beautiful lamps. A push of the button brings forth soft musical tones. The living rooms are charming and comfortable, but the nurseries are superlative. These children's quarters give the feeling of a real wonderland, with illustrations of Russian tales decorating the walls. All furniture is scaled to the size of the children and there are many toys to amuse the little ones."

"There is a row of handsomely furnished sitting rooms with lovely carved furniture and pillars. In one of the rooms the walls are decorated with brilliant Ukrainian wood carvings. There is ample room for the orchestras to amuse the passengers in the evenings while they watch the passing lights on the river banks through magnificent glass walls. Truly every square inch of the boat is designed to serve the comfort of the passengers."

"Dissolution of Marriage"

A new law regulating marriage and divorce in Hungary was hailed in the Budapest daily *Magyar Nemzet*, December 10, as "proof that marriage has been taken out of the narrow circle of the immediate interests of the parties involved, and treated as a basic concern of Socialist society." Quoting a speech by academician Karoly Szladits before the Hungarian Academy of Science, the newspaper wrote:

"The new law [Act IV. of 1952] . . . puts into practice Paragraph 51 of the [Communist] Constitution which guarantees the protection of the family and marriage. The provision concerning legal divorce is radically different from the old. The new law discards the concept of specific offense on the part of one party against the other as the sole grounds for divorce, and recognizes that, aside from statutory offenses, there may be other well-founded causes justifying the dissolution of a marriage. Under the new law, dissolution of marriage is permitted in cases in which it is rendered justifiable by the mutual interests of the two parties, the children and society; and is prohibited in cases in which it is not so justified. The decision as to the justifiability of the divorce is not made by the parties concerned. The courts are vested with extensive power to decide whether or not in a given case the cause is grave enough to justify a divorce. This provision proves that under Act IV. of 1952, marriage is taken out of the narrow circle of the immediate interests of the parties involved, and treated as a basic concern of Socialist society."

The new law on marriage and divorce supersedes Act XXXI of 1894 and omits the old regulation regarding the engagement as a binding contract ["breach of promise"], a number of causes invalidating marriage, and the provision for temporary alimony. Of the new stipulations, most striking is the provision by which a married woman now has the right to use her maiden name exclusively, without reference to her marital status, if prior to the marriage she declares her intention to do so at the registry office. Further, the woman may, under the new law, be legally obliged to pay alimony to her husband if he is destitute.

Under the new law, if one party believes he has sufficient cause for divorce, he files an appeal which is investigated by "people's assessors", who are all Party members. The criterion of a "well-founded cause" is not defined by the law. Thus, divergence from the Party line or acts antagonistic to regime policy; e.g., enrolling children for religious instruction, may be considered grounds for divorce.

At the December 18 session of the Hungarian National Assembly, this law was cited as a model piece of "Socialist" legislation. Minister of Justice Gyula Décsi declared, "In this past period our legal system has been characterized by the strengthening and democratization of our judicial organization and by increasing consistency in the administration of justice. . . . Of the new legal maxims which will serve as the basis for the work performed by judicial agencies, the new law on marriage should be mentioned first of all."

Late Comer

Workers in the Budapest electric light bulb plant were astonished one morning recently to see the name of President-elect Eisenhower on the list posted of employees who have arrived late to work. Fifteen minutes after the name was noticed, members of the AVH (Security Police) arrived to investigate, but according to a refugee report, were unable to determine who was responsible.

New Identity Cards

Vecherni Novini (Sofia), December 29, published the text of a new decree on identity cards in Bulgaria:

"Effective January 5, 1954, all passport offices of the Bulgarian People's Militia throughout the country will issue personal passports to all persons over 16 years of age.

"As of the same date, the present identity cards of the Bulgarian citizens will be considered invalid. All citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic who are more than 16 years old have the right and obligation to obtain personal passports from the authorities of the People's Militia as a document establishing their identity.

"All Bulgarian citizens will be issued passports of the same color and form. There will be personal passports of permanent validity, passports of 5 years' validity, and temporary certificates."

According to this decree, the Communist government classifies Bulgarian citizens into three main categories. An exiled researcher has analyzed the categories as follows:

"In the first category are those entitled to permanent passports; specifically, high ranking members of the Communist Party, state ministers, ranking army and militia officers, and deputies. In the second category are those entitled to passports valid for five years; namely, the low ranking cadres of the Party, the army and the militia, and members of all mass organizations such as the Fatherland Front, Trade Unions, the Voluntary Organization for Defense, Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Societies, and Sports Organizations. In the future, depending on their attitude toward the regime, these people can be transferred into either the first or third categories.

"In the third category are those entitled to temporary certificates. These are citizens who have not established their political reliability. Without a passport, they have no real status as citizens and cannot be employed.

"This decree repudiates the Constitution of Bulgaria, which guarantees 'equality before the law' for all citizens. The Bulgarian government once more violates the peace treaty with the Allies, in which, according to Article No. 3, the government is prohibited from discriminating among the Bulgarian citizens."

Dead Languages

According to a Munich correspondent, the last private language school in Budapest, the Berlitz School of Languages, was forced to close on October 16. Continued protests on the part of the French Embassy, which had unofficially taken the school under its wing, proved useless this time although the Embassy's intervention had saved the school on previous occasions.

Lenin to Rise in Budapest

According to Radio Budapest's January 8 broadcast, a statue of Lenin will be constructed in Budapest, "in response to the Hungarian people's desire for a worthy monument to the everlasting memory of the great Lenin." A government commission headed by Premier Matyas Rakosi has been appointed to organize a competition for the design of the monument and to judge the entries. The contest will be restricted to a group of sculptors specifically named: Andras Beck, Istvan Kamocsi, Zsigmond Kisfaludy-Strobl, Andras Kocsis, Agamemnon Makrisz, Zoltan Olcsay-Kiss, Pal Patzay and Istvan Tar. The unveiling ceremony is scheduled for January 21, 1954, the 30th anniversary of Lenin's death.

Members of the government commission include Istvan Dobi, Ernoe Geroe, Mihaly Farkas, Jozsef Revai, Istvan Hidas, Marton Horvath, Jozsef Darvas, Sandor Erdei, Kalman Pongracz, Aurel Bernath, Endre Domanovszky and Sandor Milus.

One Man's Meat

The Warsaw weekly *Wies* published a letter describing still another example of the immemorial ways of minor functionaries:

"In our State Farm *Mioduszki Duze* there works a very energetic local unit of the *Sluzba Polsce* [Service for Poland] organization. The boys were looking forward to a visit from the district commander who—they were advised—was going to inspect the unit. 'Now everything will be all right,' they said. 'The commander is indeed an important person and you cannot fool him.' And so indeed, the commander made an impression on the boys.

"He began his inspection from the kitchen. In fact, he began to inspect the kitchen every day. As a result, the quality of the meals considerably declined. A 'reconnaissance', organized by the boys themselves, discovered that the inspector consumes meat, which is a sizable item in the meals. It was also discovered that the inspector's appetite is far from poor. Moreover, the inspector invited—and the invitations were always accepted—the leader of the work brigade. Together they managed to consume meat rations for one half the boys. It is little wonder, of course, that they could hardly move around after such nutritious meals. This was easily remedied, however. The inspector acquired the services of a batman, who was ready to wait on him hand and foot. The inspector explained this as 'returning to the noble traditions of our military history' and referred to the fact that Kosciuszko [Polish general who fought in the American Revolution] himself had a batman.

"Is the inspector ever bored? Perhaps, although he may be entertained on his tour by the sight of working girls who are members of a nearby unit from Wegerzew.

"Dear editor! Do not intervene in this matter. *Wies* is also read by women, and in view of that, perchance the inspector's wife may happen to come across our letter. This will be sufficient satisfaction for us."

Communists Close An Account

Communist vengeance has posthumously overtaken the celebrated Romanian author Panai Istrate, who renounced his Communist sympathies in a book written on his return from a visit to the USSR in 1936. According to an Athens correspondent, the inscription has been removed from Istrate's marble tomb in the Belu cemetery in Bucharest, and the commemorative plaque has disappeared from the house in Braila where he was born:

"In his origins and background, Panai Istrate was the very model of the 'proletarian writer' so glorified by Communist propaganda. His father was a dockworker in the port of Braila and his mother was a laundress. He spent most of his childhood working as an errand-boy in a coffee house. He educated himself so extensively that he even wrote the books which made him famous in French rather than in his native language. At an early age he contracted tuberculosis, from which he died at the peak of his career.

Istrate became an ardent pro-Communist in the 1920's. The Soviets never tired of praising the works which poured from his pen—*Kira Kiralina*, *Les Chardons du Baragan*, etc. In 1936 he was invited to tour the Soviet Union as an official guest. As was the case with Andre Gide at this same period, he was shocked by the actualities of life in the USSR. Like Gide, he expressed his disillusionment in a book written after his return to his own country.

Istrate's *Confession d'un Vaincu* describes the miserable living standards of the Soviet people, the police terror which holds them in its grip, and the pathetic cult of Stalin worship. The book is a passionate denunciation of the Communist ideology of which Istrate had been such a champion, and it brought down upon Istrate the same torrent of abuse which the Soviet press loosed against Andre Gide when he published *Retour de l'USSR*.

"But it was not until Istrate had died and his country had gone under the Soviet yoke that the implacable Stalinists were able to gain their full revenge by desecrating the dead writer's tomb and birthplace."

Calendar Art

"Rather too artistic for simple tastes", was the Warsaw newspaper *Glos Pracy*'s opinion of a 1953 calendar issued in 350,000 copies by the House of Artistic and People's Publications in Warsaw. The newspaper gave the following description of the calendar:

". . . May is interrupted, just as are June, July, August and September. Thus 1953 will be a very unusual year. February 4 is followed by March 5, March 18 by February 19, and June 24 by May 28. Then we go back to June 1, so that ten days later we may be confronted with May 14. May 27 follows on the heels of June 25, July 22 is followed by August 20, September 2 by August 6, and October 28 by November 26. . . . This is indeed an arrangement . . . rather too artistic for simple tastes. . . ."

Dressing Down

Prace (Prague), January 8, denounced Czechoslovak ice hockey teams for their "apish imitation" of the uniforms of Western hockey players:



"Some of our hockey teams have an unfortunate weakness for fancy dress. The prize without doubt belongs to the Karlovy Vary club *Slavia*, whose uniforms are the height of bad taste, a medley of colors and ornaments, an apish imitation of the models set by Canadian and American hockey players.

"But there also are teams who deserve praise for their sober dress. One of them is *Tatra*, Snichov, whose team is dressed in tasteful red or blue jerseys. But not even *Tatra* has a completely clean slate. The management might find it difficult to explain why the goalie [in two recent games] played in a jersey with the emblem of LTC. It was either simply another extravagance or a brazen commemoration of this hockey club of sinister past." (None: The LTC held the Czechoslovak ice hockey championship from 1920 to 1948, when it was dissolved in the Communist nationalization of sports associations.)

Reuther Rewarded

Attacks on Western labor unions are reaching a new pitch of intensity in the Hungarian press. The December 9 issue of *Szabad Nep* (Budapest) characterized C.I.O. president Walter Reuther as a "notorious reactionary . . . known to be a favorite of big capitalists and the Chamber of Commerce." Reporting on the 14th Congress of the C.I.O., the Communist newspaper wrote:

"The 14th Congress of the C.I.O. trade unions closed in Atlantic City, N.J., on December 4. In the course of the Congress, the leaders of the C.I.O. managed to avoid the discussion of several points which are of vital interest to the organized workers of America. Thus they did not discuss the matter of ending the Korean war or repealing the Taft-Hartley Act. . . . The Congress, under the pressure of various reactionary groups, has elected as its president the notorious reactionary Walter Reuther, who is known to be a protege of big capitalists and the Chamber of Commerce."

On December 30, the Budapest daily *Nepszava* reviled A.F. of L.'s European representative Irving Brown:

"In international matters an American trade union gangster, Irving Brown, is applying gangster methods. The modest sum of one hundred million dollars allotted by the American government to pay for subversive activities—spying and murdering—in the People's Democracies, reaches its destination through the filthy hands of Brown. The dissenting French and Italian trade unions could not exist for a day without the dollar assistance of Mr. Brown. . . ."

Permanent Headache

A drunk in a Prague streetcar jostled a Communist, who flashed his Party badge. "Watch what you're doing!" stormed the Communist. "A fine thing it is to get drunk during the Five Year Plan! Look at me; I'm never drunk!" The drunk smiled good-naturedly, touched the Party badge, and whispered, "But I can sleep it off!"

Prizes for Testimonials

The Hungarian Radio is sponsoring a prize contest for compositions by pupils in the fifth to eighth classes (ten to 14 years old) of the general schools. The contest is titled "Steadfast to Your Fatherland", and suggestions for acceptable themes were published in the December issue of the Budapest educational monthly *Kozneveles*:

"Dear Young Comrades:

"When soldiers march in the streets and songs sound from their lips, the windows of the houses become crowded with curious children. Boys, and girls too, gaily look upon the muscular youths whose faces shine, who march with rifles on their shoulders and sing of freedom and peace. We know that there are many Comrades among you in whose heart the decision has long since been made: 'When I grow up, I want to be a soldier.' One child wants to become an artillery man, another a courageous pilot, and there are some who dream of

standing on a dark night all along the borders to guard the residents of villages and cities sleeping in peace. Write down, Comrades, how that lovely decision was born in your minds, who your model hero is, how you intend to fight for the peace of your country, the future of your parents, sisters, brothers, and your own.

"Naturally, not only Comrades who intend to become actual soldiers are eligible to compete in the radio prize contest.

"You may, for instance, describe the memorable day when an officer of the Hungarian People's Army knotted a red tie around your neck and in so doing almost elevated you to being his fellow Comrade and his brother.

"Among young Comrades living in the border areas, stories of the heroic deeds of the border guards are passed by word of mouth. Take a pen, children, and write down these nice stories.

"The father or brother of many a young Comrade is wearing the uniform of the Hungarian People's Army. Describe how proud of them you are and whether you are going to follow their example. . . .

"All about the country, in the fields and factories, diligent work is being done. The blood of Soviet heroes was sprinkled over these abundant fields. They brought us freedom at the expense of their lives. Everybody who has ever seen them and talked to them is able to recall their fearless courage and their warm, sensitive hearts. Their deeds, Comrades, are well suited for recounting in song and story. . . .

"Write your prize contest composition in the form of a novel, a dramatic sketch, a report, a letter, a message, a poem or a song. We will put on the air the best stories, and publish them in *Pajtas* [organ of the Pioneers]. The Hungarian Radio will award the winners many lovely and valuable prizes—bicycles, radios, cameras, air-guns, books, etc. Solemn distribution of the prizes will take place at the beginning of April 1953. The last day on which stories may be mailed is January 10, 1953."

All At Sea

In a eulogy to a shockworker who taught her a new method of milking cows, a Czechoslovak milkmaid compared life before her enlightenment to that of a shipwrecked mariner groping in the dark. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 22, quoted her letter:

"Sometimes I look back and compare my life to that of a shipwrecked sailor foundering in the darkness. Suddenly he sees the North star and finds the way back to port. For 25 years I milked cows in the old manner. I too sailed in darkness. Then suddenly—light! It was Comrade Malininova who showed me the new way . . . By using her new method I achieved a daily yield of 37 liters from one cow, 32 liters from another . . ."

Estonian Red Cross Goal

The Communist regime implements its public health programs through national Red Cross organizations in the Soviet bloc countries. On the occasion of the Second Congress of the Estonian Red Cross, held December 14 in

Tallinn, the achievements of this organization were summarized in a Radio Tallinn broadcast:

"The Red Cross of the Estonian S.S.R. has grown by 1236 local chapters. In kolkhozes alone, 673 new chapters have been organized. 60,000 working people have joined the Red Cross. 70,000 lectures or discussions have been held to popularize the aims and activities of the Red Cross. Thousands of workers have passed examinations for the badge 'Prepared for Medical Defense.' Over 3,000 First Aid stations are established in kolkhozes, factories and schools. At the conference, delegates made concrete proposals for further improvement of the work of the Red Cross, and called on all members to work actively at the great tasks set up by the 19th Congress of the Communist Party for the Soviet people."

Unpopular Press

A scrupulous study of the Party press is a standard indoctrination requirement in the Satellite countries, but even zealous Party initiates balk at the exorbitant amount of obligatory reading. The Sofia newspaper *Narodna Mladej*, organ of the Party Union of the People's Youth, December 6, told this story on itself:

"In order to read a newspaper, for example *Narodna Mladej*, it is necessary, first, to pay 20 *stotinki*, second, to get the newspaper, and third, to read it.

"This is a complicated procedure," declared members of the City Committee of Dimitrov's Union of the People's Youth. "Something should be done in order to simplify the work."

"For three days and three nights the Comrades tried to find a solution. On the third day, in one of the rooms occupied by the Committee, one of the Comrades shouted, 'I've got it!'

"Do tell us. What did you discover?" asked the other members.

"I've got it!" he continued to shout. "The solution is very simple, but it demands great ingenuity. Comrades, we will not buy the newspaper any longer. In other words, beginning today, we adopt the fighting slogan Not One Member A Subscriber to *Narodna Mladej*."

The speaker continued, "What is the use of wasting our time in reading this newspaper? We work and direct the Youth Organization in the city of Gabrovo, which means, we are interested in what is happening in this city, less interested in the county, and still less interested in the rest of the country. In following my slogan we will, on the one hand, save tens of *leva*, and at the same time, if we do not read the newspaper, we will be freer for the fulfillment of our tasks and soon will become the best Committee of the Union of People's Youth."

Two for the Road

A newspaperman was preparing to flee Westward. His friend asked him why.

"There are two reasons," the newspaperman said. "The regime might change, and all the people I know might be killed."

"That's impossible," the friend replied.

"There you are," the newspaperman retorted. "I told you I had two reasons."

Students Still Struggle

State aid to students is one of the points of pride of Poland's Communist regime. But students financially dependent on scholarship grants are becoming increasingly anxious over the erratic way in which these payments are issued by the Ministry of Education. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), December 13, reported that in many instances payment of grants is being made at the end, rather than at the beginning, of each month:

". . . Apparently students throughout the whole country are worried . . . In Rokitnica [Silesia] the payments are made on the 24th day of the month. In the Mining Academy a regular payment is indeed an exceptional phenomenon. No arrangements have yet been made for the payment of 700 scholarship grants now due for the 1953 term at the Wroclaw Medical Academy . . ."

Prague Movie Fare

A report taken from *Svobodne Slovo* (Prague), December 18, showed that Prague movie theaters during Christmas week were playing 32 Czechoslovak films, 23 Russian, six East German, two American, one Polish and one French. The American films were *The Heiress* and *Gold Rush*, both of whose themes are concerned with the corrupting effect of money. Two large theaters in Prague are playing only revivals of films made in Czechoslovakia before 1939.

Cold Comfort

Wola Ludu (Warsaw), December 21, described conditions in an elementary school at Kleczanow [near Sandomierz] in bitterly sardonic terms:

"It is cold in the school building at Kleczanow. One is constantly exhaling clouds of steam. The children work muffled in their clothes, and write with frozen hands. The teacher, Helena Krupska, wears three sweaters and an overcoat. Why? Is there no coal? No, the coal is available. No stoves? They are also there. But they don't work . . .

"The teacher lives in the school building. The only difference in temperature between the classrooms and her lodging is that her room is colder . . .

"Well, you may say, is there no National Council Presidium, or Educational Committee, or Parents Association? Of course there is. The school affairs, however, are a matter of complete indifference to them. The chairman of the National Council said that the bricks in the stove are probably not heatproof. . . . And as for the teacher's complaints, he said, they are preposterous. Does this mean, he said, that if a woman teaches, she must teach in a warm room? Ridiculous! A previous teacher worked there for three years and 'everything seemed to be all right.'

"The problem is simple. New stoves must be built! Glass must be installed in the school's windows. But someone must think of these things . . . in the summer."

Total Breakdown

In a letter to the Lithuanian Communist daily *Tiesa* (Vilnius), November 27, a would-be student of motorcycling described his experiences in a State training school:

"It was April, 1952, when the Council of the Sports Association of Vilnius announced that a training class for motorcyclists was being organized.

"Thirty boys appeared for the classes on May 6. Comrade Peleckis was the instructor. The studies went very well. We finished the course in theory in two months. Only the practice remained to be completed. But . . . practice was the main stumbling block, because the organizers of the school had neglected to provide even one motorcycle to use for practice. We gathered at the stadium many times, each time only to hear Comrade Peleckis say, 'Sorry, there is still no motorcycle. We will have to go home and reconvene in two days . . .'

"Much precious time was wasted until finally the motorcycle was received. We paid 15 rubles apiece to the Auto Inspection for examination and started to practice. But disappointment came very soon. The motorcycle was so old that it fell to pieces after two lessons . . .

"However, Comrade Peleckis found a way out of this trouble. He collected 25 rubles from each student for repair of the motorcycle, and has not been seen by us since that day . . ."

An Honest Death

The Czechoslovak press, which had carried no mention of Karol Smidke since he was deprived of his membership in the Czechoslovak parliament for "bourgeois-nationalist deviationism" in February 1951, announced that Smidke died on December 15 in Bratislava. Departing from the usual style for obituaries, *Rude Pravo* (Prague), December 19, published a painstakingly detailed and self-conscious report on the medical causes of his death:

"Comrade Karol Smidke, member of the National Assembly, Director of the Tesla National Enterprise, fell ill on December 13, 1952, in Bratislava, of an acute catarrh of the respiratory organs. On December 15, he developed symptoms of scarlet fever and a serious infection. Simultaneously, pneumonia and acute circulatory difficulties set in. Despite all medical efforts, Comrade Smidke succumbed to these complications in the State Sanitorium of Bratislava on December 15 at 10:45 p.m."

Research Projects on Eastern Europe

Prepared by the National Committee for a Free Europe

The studies listed below have recently been completed by members of the Research and Publications Service and the Mid-European Studies Center. They are available in limited quantities and may be obtained by writing NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, National Committee for a Free Europe, 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

The Position of the Hungarian Worker Between January 1950 and November 1952 (Research and Publications Service, January 1953) 43 pages. This review summarizes regime measures in Hungary "for the benefit of the vanguard of the Communist Party"—the working class. In the spring of 1950, the Communists introduced a piece-rate system and ushered in a new wave of working restrictions. Payments were made on a monthly basis, which in reality meant holding back salaries barely sufficient to keep workers from starvation. A decree on rejects made workers pay for defective products. Overtime pay was reduced. The right to leave his job or strike was denied him. Notwithstanding these measures forcibly inflicted upon the workers, labor turnover on a large scale continues to thwart Communist efforts to assure successful completion of the Five Year Plan and the anti-regime attitude of workers is a grave concern even to Moscow.

Price 25 cents.

Poland, History and Historians: Three Bibliographical Essays by Bernard Ziffer (Mid-European Studies Center, December 1952) 107 pages. In order to present a historical bibliography of the inter-war period, one must study the development of independent Poland, because that history is rooted in the preceding centuries and is its result. The three separate essays which form this book—Polish Historiography, Polish Bibliography, and Polish Periodicals and Serial Publications in the inter-war period—have a common purpose. They attempt to present succinctly the remarkable Polish achievements in the sphere of historiography up to World War II, with special emphasis on the period of Polish Independence, 1918-1939.

The author's aim was twofold: first, to give the English-speaking reader a general picture of Polish intellectual accomplishments and the close connection through the ages between Poland's culture and that of the Western World; second, to provide a bibliographical description of the main sources of Polish learning; as well as a critical evaluation of them which might serve as a reference for research workers.

Price \$1.50.

Outline of the Economy of Eastern Europe (Research and Publications Service, December 1952) 154 pages. This handbook is an attempt at a comprehensive appraisal of the assets and liabilities of captive country economy. Few people are aware of the tremendous economic changes the Communist regimes have brought to these countries. Nations once part of Europe's bread basket have today been transformed into giant machine shops. Countries which once had some of Europe's finest consumers' industries, today almost exclusively manufacture capital goods. Because the standard of living in these countries is still higher than the USSR's, the Soviet Union deems an "equalization" of her own and her Satellite's living standards as a necessary preliminary toward their future political integration. Under Communist domination, the structure of Eastern Europe's economy has undergone almost revolutionary changes. Captive economy has been subordinated to the overall plans of Soviet economy. Excessive demands on their economies have caused industrial imbalance and acute labor shortages have resulted.

This report attempts to analyze underlying causes for the changes which have taken place and to discern the facts behind Communist claims of economic successes.

Price 50 cents.

Bibliography on Purges and Trials Within the Communist Party since 1920 in the Soviet Union and the Captive Countries (Research and Publications Service, January 1953) 25 pages. This bibliography is by no means exhaustive nor does it pretend to include all pertinent material on this vast and important subject. Because all listings were not accessible, it was necessary to be selective and at times arbitrary in determining what material should be included. However, most sources are standard reference works and authoritative documents. The final result is in chronological order and covers the field from the trial of the Social-Revolutionists in Moscow in 1922, through the Shakhty Engineer trial of 1928, the Industrial Party trial of 1930, the Menshevik trial of 1931, and the Moscow purge trials of 1936-1938, to the latest purges and trials of Communists in the People's Democracies.

The material is classified into primary and secondary sources, as well as general works. Primary sources include court proceedings, verbatim reports, testimonies, official statements, etc. Secondary sources include comments by contemporaries, critical texts and evaluations by competent contemporary observers. General works include reliable studies by political observers with a perspective on the trials, studies by modern analysts, and fictional works providing valuable background. A summary note gives highlights and characteristic features of the trials.

Price 15 cents.



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